ENTRANCE TO THE TRIANGULAR FORUM

See p. 124. In the foreground a public fountain. The street is the Street of Isis, whose temple opens on it farther down.

POMPEII

PAINTED
BY · ALBERTO · PISA
DESCRIBED
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PUBLISHED BY A. & C.
BLACK · LONDON · MCMX

TO

MY WIFE

IN MEMORY OF ONE VISIT

TOGETHER

Preface

The present volume is neither a guide-book nor an archaeological treatise, though in places it may recall one or the other ; a character unavoidable from the nature of the subject. What has been aimed at is a reconstruction, often necessarily by suggestion or analysis only, of the life of the old town, with sufficient explanation and account of the material to furnish a basis of actuality ; or, at least, a general view from different sides of what Pompeii means and gives us.

No amount of personal study on the spot can dispense with the considerable and varied literature on the subject, and a special tribute of indebtedness is due to the more recent numbers of the *Notizie Degli Scavi*, as well as to the works of Fiorelli and Fischetti ; of Overbeck, Helbig, Nissen, Wickhoff, Von Presuhn, Engelmann, Von Mayer, and the indispensable Mau ; of

Roux-Barré, Martha, Guzman, and Thedenat ; of Gell and Dyer. In face of such an array the author can only plead that most of it is to the ordinary reader a sealed book, and that, for the rest, his appeal and, consequently, his mode of treatment are different in kind.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

GLASGOW, *January* 1910.

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POMPEII

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND MUNICIPAL LIFE

Over the crest of a low ridge nearly parallel with the highway, on whose steep side the tussocks of coarse grass seem caught in a network of grey soil, a mass of building stiffly thrusts itself, suggesting to a casual glance the outskirts of a town rather flatter in outline and more sombre in appearance than is common in Italy. The situation is obviously desirable, fronting the distant Bay of Naples and rising above the sea of green, thickly dotted and diversified by pale yellow villas and towns, that washes up to a background of blue hills. But the cluster of houses opens out behind in the silent streets and shattered buildings of Pompeii, surely of all towns the strangest—dead, and dragging slowly from out its dusty cerements, yet with the gesture and appeal of life. Here it is the modern who is the anachronism, for the present of Pompeii was nineteen hundred years ago. In those streets one is the contemporary of Nero and Vespasian and Titus, of

Martial and Tacitus and Pliny; of the Colosseum a-building, and of a Christianity that was but the newest of Oriental religions. The Roman Empire is still young; its decline and fall are far ahead. For Pompeii there were no Middle Ages; its very name was forgotten; the conquests that trampled down so much else in Southern Italy saw here only a verdurous mound and passed by the sleeping city in its enchanted grove. Then at a fumbling touch the charm was broken and the city of Nero raised to a lifeless resurrection in the Europe of Napoleon.

There was nothing in the history of Pompeii to justify its being endowed with an interest rivalling that of imperial Rome itself. It was never more than a second or third rate provincial town with no claim on the notice of its contemporaries in respect of art, letters, or men. It owed its origin, probably, to its easily defensible site, from which the Oscans, in the van of the Italic peoples, could dominate the plain. Greek settlers from their great centre at Cumae, on the northern horn of the bay, must first have exploited the commercial possibilities of the original Sarno river six hundred yards to the south; a strongly placed town near a navigable stream was a natural emporium for the trade of the fertile districts behind and south of Vesuvius. Pompeii still served this need in Strabo's time, the first half of the first century A.D. Greeks were always numerous in the town, and its oldest surviving structure is what remains of the Doric temple in the lofty south-west corner, once an edifice compar-

able with the Temple of Poseidon at Paestum, and so of the sixth century B.C. when the Greek colonies were in their most flourishing state. But the political consolidation of the city was the work of the Samnites, another Italic mountain people, who in the first quarter of the fifth century sent one of their periodic migrations into the plain of Campania to crush the landward Etruscans at Capua as well as the Greek cities of the coast. Oscan and Samnite were akin and merged in Pompeii to constitute the native mass of the population; it is probably the Samnite tongue that persisted to the end as the local Oscan vernacular; Greek was never an official language. Less than a century later Campania became the theatre of a mighty struggle between the expanding power of Rome and the jealous Samnites of the hills (343-290 B.C.), from which Campania and its cities, divided in their sympathies, emerged as a dependance of the rising state on the Tiber. Hannibal after Cannae (216), when he wintered at Capua, may have brought a short-lived dream of deliverance, but thenceforward at least the fortunes of Pompeii are more and more closely linked with the destiny of Rome.

This period of home rule under Roman supremacy lasted for about a century, during which the city in a quiet, solid fashion increased its business and population, built or rebuilt temples, and equipped itself with baths, a theatre, a colonnaded Forum, and a public exchange or Basilica; while the note of its wealthier class, as exemplified in the House of the Faun, was a lofty but simple dignity expressed in spaciousness of architectural

demeanour and superficial grandeur—echoes, not of Greece proper or its colonies, but of the Hellenised East. While the conservative Roman of the Republic as yet disdained the softening artifices of home adornment, the rich Pompeian had no such reservations and fairly outshone his political masters. But the hold of selfish dominion grew harder as time went on, till the burden of military service and the close-fisted character of Roman privileges which would grant no compensation, drove the Italian cities, north and south, into the revolt of the Social War (91-88 B.C.). Pompeii must have been anticipating some such event, for her walls had been repaired and strengthened, on the weaker faces, with square towers, a dozen in all. Thus the city became a centre of military operations, and in 89 B.C. was able to hold Sulla himself in check before its fortifications. Near a loophole in the wall of the third tower beyond the Herculaneum Gate a soldier has scratched on the stucco the name *L. Sula* in rude capitals, the name that was sounding through all Italian minds. But Pompeii must have been ready in accepting the compromise of a modified Roman citizenship, for her terms were easy. The fortifications were dismantled by the simple expedient of pulling down the outer faces of the towers ; but Stabiae, which held out till 80, was razed to the ground and ceased to exist as a town, while Samnium was made a wilderness. Pompeii, however, was dowered with a colony of Sulla's soldiers within its walls, who seem to have been given an excessive share in the administration, serving in fact

as a garrison. Officially the town was now known as *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum*; Cornelius was the clan name of Sulla, and Venus was his patron deity, whom Pompeii readily took to her bosom as *Venus Pompeiana*. By the time of the Empire all distinction between the colonists and the original inhabitants must have disappeared. On the whole Sulla treated Pompeii rather well.

Here begins the last phase of the history of Pompeii, when, from a self-developing municipality, it becomes the imitator of Rome, after Rome, too, with greater resources and freer powers of acquisition, had betaken herself to the same source of inspiration in Hellenistic culture as Pompeii had earlier drawn upon. The most obvious change, but probably the one of smallest importance, was that in the administration of the town. The old mayor, with the uncouth Oscan title of *mediss tovtiks*, disappears; one who had filled this office was the Vibius Popidius who formally passed the construction of the Gate of Nola, and the Popidii continued to be a wealthy and important family in the later Pompeii, though not officially prominent. In place of the old assembly there is a city council of *decurions* recruited from ex-magistrates and other pre-eminent persons, and so, in provincial eyes, a very select and superior body indeed, as is suggested to us by Cicero's ironical joke that it was easier to become a senator at Rome than a decurion in Pompeii. Cicero knew his Pompeii; he had a favourite villa there. The executive officers were the *duumviri*, in whose hands were the

civil and criminal courts, who presided at meetings of the decurions, and conducted the elections, having a general superintendence over municipal affairs. Of lower rank were the *aediles* or police magistrates, who had the oversight of roads, buildings, markets, public games, and such like, and for certain purposes combined with the duumviri to form a joint board of *quattuorviri*, the Board of Four. The magistrates were elected by a majority of the wards, which rendered the result of a contest more uncertain than a mass vote. It was rare to have a candidate who secured a unanimous election ; such a compliment, however, once fell to Paquius Proculus, a baker, the attractive, somewhat naïve-looking man, whose portrait, with that of his bright and eager-faced wife, has been preserved for us in a style that is quite mid-Victorian in its stiff and uncharacteristic pose.

Many memorials of such contests survive in the election notices painted at the public stations in red letters on a white ground. In the later days of the town professional bill-writers were employed, but the earlier examples suggest the friendly canvasser. Election literature of this type was normally brief and of no great originality. Sometimes the sign-painter added the weight of his own personal authority to the formal recommendation of a candidate : "I beg of you to propose A. Suettius Curtius as aedile ; Paris wrote this, and associates himself with the request." Usually the appeal to elect somebody an aedile or duumvir is made on behalf of an influential personage, or of the neighbours, or some associated body of the town, most often

the trades, who furnish a long list—bakers, pastry-cooks, innkeepers, masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, barbers, perfumers, dyers, soap-makers, goldsmiths, cultivators, merchants of fruit or poultry, porters, muleteers, vine-growers, fishermen, apprentices; or by the inhabitants of a suburb, such as the *Pagus Augustus Felix*, probably now located beyond the Gate of Vesuvius. Again Proculus crops up; this time he is asked to make Sabinus aedile on the ground that Sabinus will return the compliment: the baker was to cast his bread upon the waters. Such virtues as are attributed to the candidates are of the usual indefinite kind: "a good fellow," "an upright judge," "one who will look after the public funds"; the older notices modestly confine themselves to the simple nomination. Once an enthusiast breaks into optimistic verse: "If a blameless life is to be considered of any value, our Lucretius Fronto is worthy of the high honour":

> Si pudor in vita quicquam prodesse putatur,
> Lucretius hic Fronto dignus honore bono est.

Fronto's house is known from another complimentary remark scratched, probably by one of his domestics, on a pillar of the peristyle. Vatia is betrayed as a character of a different type, and can have profited little by the public recommendations of the "sneak thieves," the "late drinkers as a body" (*seribibi universi*), and "all the sluggards" (*dormientes universi*): an enemy must have done this. On the whole the election literature is dull. The political ladies, who sometimes have their

own preferences, add little to its gaiety. Statia and Petronia trust that the Colony will always have citizens like their nominees. One professes to speak for the patroness of the town over the signature *Venus Pompeiana*. It may be hoped that she had less success than the frank young person who declared that his "little darling" (*animula*) was working for the election of Claudius as duumvir.

Probably local politics grew in interest with the growing wealth and population that, in the persons of wealthy tradesmen and merchants, brought forward a new class of candidates for its honours. Certainly the more intimate relations with Rome and the consolidation of the Empire yielded Pompeii many customers and opened up new lines of profitable occupation. Even as early as the first half of the second century B.C. the elder Cato was recommending the lava of Pompeii to farmers for their oil-presses. Pumice-stone was another prized article of export. But then, as now, the rich volcanic soil was closely cultivated, and market-gardens and vineyards spread out on every side. The tall Pompeian cabbage, with its thin stalk and tender head, was in high repute, and the local onion, too, it would seem. The market-gardeners formed possibly the major part of the land-tillers who, as a body, sought to influence the elections. Their district would be the flat seaward plain; behind, towards the mountain slope, were the vineyards, a developing industry as Greek wines under the Empire declined in importance and the Italian varieties were

improved and became fashionable. The classic Falernian came from the neighbourhood, but Pliny does not place the Pompeian product in the first rank : it was heady, like the modern Gragnano farther south, and its effects lasted over an indulgence till noon of the next day. Nevertheless it was a considerable business, as the many *amphorae* found in the excavations show. The wine of the country had no doubt its own peculiar merits, and the art of the city speaks strongly and pointedly of its high measure of importance. A rough shrine painting gives us the earlier Vesuvius as a conical mountain with the single peak of Monte di Somma, and to the left a youth crowned with vine leaves and wholly clothed in bellying grapes. This was what Vesuvius as yet meant to the dwellers below—well-filled grape bunches that covered it as with a garment. If, however, the wine did not suit the palates of connoisseurs there seems to have been no doubt about the excellence of the Pompeian fish-sauce (*garum*, *liquamen*), which appealed particularly to the fish-loving Romans, who were, of course, the wealthy, since fish was expensive. It made one manufacturer, Umbricius Scaurus, a rich and favoured man.

But every quality of that fair land could be turned to account with the rapid growth of luxurious tastes which characterised the closing years of the Republic and the new Empire. In the train of Sulla the East came to Rome, and the narrow Latin life opened wide to the means of gratification which lay almost at its doors. In this sense Campania was discovered and

exploited ; poets and prose-writers swell its unqualified laudations. Baiae was of sinister fame, and the graver sort of Roman sought change from the nerve-racking din and business of the great city in more restful quarters. Stabiae became a town of villas, and Pompeii had its own patrons. The Emperor Claudius possessed a country residence near, and once held honorary office in the town. One of Cicero's many villas was there, matched only by another at Tusculum ; in it he wrote his *De Officiis*. In one of his speeches he contrasts with the poor little towns of Latium their flourishing sisters of Campania. Pompeii is among the nine of which he makes mention, but not Herculaneum—a forcible comment upon the extravagant importance it is usual to attach to the latter in comparison with its better known neighbour. There was something exquisitely fascinating to the Roman in the natural delights of this glowing country-side ; the bay itself and the novel sensation of its salt baths to a people who gloried in bathing—one enterprising gentleman[1] even established salt baths somewhere beyond the Herculaneum Gate ; its cooling summer breezes ; the colour and fruitfulness of its crops in vineyards and gardens ; abounding, as Seneca[2] found it, in " wine, roses, and pleasures." It is only the northerner, braced to the harsher elements, who finds its coolness deceptive and its moist heat enervating, and can realise at once

[1] M. Crassus Frugi, consul in A.D. 64. Nero had him put to death in order to possess himself of his property.

[2] The tutor of Nero, born 4 B.C.

what history slowly records, that this seductive land moulds every comer to its own impress whether Greek, Samnite, Roman, or Teuton, if the Teuton survive at all.

But Rome did yet more for Pompeii. The obliteration of Stabiae by Sulla resulted in the trade of that thriving port passing to its rival and survivor. Fortune turns her wheel: in busy Castellamare Stabiae has renewed her life; modern Pompeii (*Valle di Pompei*) is a straggling and somewhat squalid village eking out a living in the exploitation of its predecessor and a miraculous Madonna. Beyond the trade that passed from Stabiae there was the vast increase of business set up by the imperial policy of Augustus and his successors, and the flow of merchandise from Egypt and the East through the Campanian ports. Pompeii has links with Gaul on the one side and with Syria on the other. As might be expected its now crowded population was effusively imperialistic. Names of reigning emperors and of empresses are scribbled with loyal ejaculations about the walls, and at Pompeii, as in Campania generally, the cult of the Emperor round the deification of his Genius early took root. The Empire meant peace and good business, and its local and visible symbol, standing for these desirables, was the person of the Emperor.

Thus in full flood flowed the good fortune of Pompeii when the first stroke of disaster fell. The scourge of Campania, as Seneca puts it, was earthquake, but as occurrences came in the summer the ancients accepted it as merely an unfortunate feature of that

season. Disillusionment on this inference descended on February 5, A.D. 63, when an earthquake of appalling power set the district heaving and cracking over a wide area. Tacitus notes it, curiously sandwiching an event of first-class importance between a conflagration due to lightning and the death and election of a vestal virgin. He speaks of Pompeii as a populous town. Seneca expands into fuller details. Campania was covered with corpses and ruins, but evidently Herculaneum and Pompeii suffered most, villas on the heights least. After the first destructive shock came others, more feeble but quite sufficient to complete the downfall of unsteady structures. So general was the ruin that it became a question with the Roman Senate whether Pompeii should be allowed to be rebuilt. A pair of curious but exceedingly interesting memorials of this all-important disaster have been preserved in the form of votive bas-reliefs. One is due to the gratitude for what must have been a lucky escape on the part of the banker Caecilius Jucundus. The bust of Jucundus in bronze was found in his house, and is a most striking piece of realistic portraiture. The close-cropped bullet head with spreading ears, the warty nose and chin, and the keen, calculating, yet good-natured expression of face, typify the genial because prosperous merchant. As such, too, timid and religiously fearful. On the day of the earthquake he was at the upper end of the Forum, and had the terrifying experience of seeing the great Temple of Jupiter and the equestrian statues on either side collapse toward the south. Probably in the crowd

that would be there lives were lost, and Jucundus, sadly unnerved, vowed the sacrifice of a bull to his household gods should he set eyes safely upon them again. Then he employed a cheap, unskilful artist to perpetuate the fact of his vow and its motive. Another citizen had a similar experience near the Gate of Vesuvius, where he saw gate and walls solidly shaken and a chariot with two mules upset, and similarly expressed in a special sacrifice his gratitude at being spared. But in truth the city as a whole furnishes tangible evidence of the seriousness of the catastrophe. The temples and all colonnaded buildings suffered especially; the Forum was a wreck, and was still a yard of rebuilding and restoration when the final catastrophe came; working their scheme of re-erection and repair inwards, the directors had finished with the Temple of Apollo but had not yet begun the Temple of Jupiter. Foremost of all, necessarily, had come the private houses, which thus frequently show a striking juxtaposition of new and old building, while such work generally is done in a hurried, reckless fashion that seized upon the readiest material to hand, a chunk of marble or piece of a broken amphora, as the case might be. It is this wholesale restoration of the town, with its subsequent tricking out in new stucco and the forms of decoration in vogue, that has done most to bring about that appearance of sameness and superficial monotony that strikes one on a hurried inspection. And in this special sense it is a town of the time of Nero that has been preserved for us, though here and there and under the

all-covering stucco we lay bare layers of earlier construction and grope back to preceding stages of development. With this postulate must go another, deducible from what has been said above : a goodly part of the ruin we see is the result of the earthquake of A.D. 63, to which the vandal mountain could in 79 only add a further contribution as it worked its disastrous will on what was whole again ; a few more columns topple over from the Temple of Jupiter, pinning one unfortunate under the superfluous ruin.

Then, ushered in by premonitory tremblings of the earth, a night and a day of unrelieved horror, undistinguishable in a darkness that was material, rendered futile the fevered labour of sixteen years and ruptured the municipal continuity of centuries. First, the unnerving crash of the cindery pumice-stone and lapilli that, in the grasp of a north-west wind, struck blindly at street and house-top, cumbered the open courts, and piled up to the level of the ground-floors; then the more insidious swish of fine ash that found its way into every corner and through every opening. When, finally, the death-shower ceased and the blinded sun shone out, the spectacle was in tone with the event—the buried country-side was wrapped in a shroud of leprous white. Shining villas set in the varying green of garden and vineyard were drowned out of sight ; Herculaneum was stiffening in an overwhelming deluge of mud ; Pompeii on the hill was shoulder-deep in its grave.

Whither the surviving inhabitants of the town, and

those of the neighbouring towns equally affected, had betaken themselves it is impossible to say. But many, probably not less than half nor more than three-quarters, had found refuge of some sort and now made their way back to their abandoned homes. It was a heart-breaking sight. The immensity of the destruction and loss put it beyond local management; an imperial commission was appointed to take the business in hand, and the Emperor Titus personally visited the stricken district. But Pompeii was obviously beyond recovery to any useful extent; only the loftier parts projected, though, as of frailer build, broken and tumbled and insecure. Still streets and houses could be followed and identified, and owners could do something by digging to get at their buried goods and treasures. Hence, as far as was feasible, the city was systematically ransacked; few buildings fail to give evidence of this. Shafts were sunk, tunnels made, walls broken through, and money, furniture, works of art, and other portable articles removed. Some paid for their eagerness with their lives; in the disturbed regular layers of deposit the skeletons of such excavators have been found, stifled by imprisoned gases or crushed by the collapse of their ways. To more organised and systematic undertakings must be due the wholesale removal of marbles and statues from the public places, from the Forum and the temples. The new Pompeii, run up on the inner side of the old, nearer the mountain, also drew upon available material; it appears on a fourth-century map, but had to be abandoned like its predecessor, and, no doubt, for a similar

reason. But almost up to that time occasional searches were still being made on the buried site ; the tradition of treasure-trove dies hard. Further eruptions, however, that brought fresh powderings of dust, and the crumbling down of what building of a fragile nature remained above the surface, sufficed at length to remove all material memory of what had been, and the wonderful hoard passed into the silent keeping of copse and corn-land.

[Note.—The origin of the name Pompeii is doubtful, and various explanations have been submitted. By the ancients it was connected with the expedition, *pompa*, of Hercules, a far-fetched derivation no doubt suggested by the neighbourhood of Herculaneum. Strabo seems to hint at the Greek verb *pempein*, "to send," in the sense of serving as a "port" for three cities of the hinterland (Nissen). From a legitimately inferred Oscan form *pompe*, meaning "five," answering to the Latin *quinque*—there being *p* and *q* Italians as there are *p* and *q* Celts—the name may signify the city of the clan *Pompeii*, "Fives," whose Latin equivalent would be *Quintii*, just as we have *Veii*, the city of the Veians and other similar plural forms (Mau). Another reading of this is to take the verb equating with the Latin *quinquinare* = *lustrare*, giving some such meaning as *sacri portus*, "holy-haven" (Buecheler). Mau's acute analysis seems most plausible.]

STABIAN STREET

Looking north. The upper wall of the Large Theatre is on the extreme left. The recessed space on the left is flanked by the wall of the Small Theatre (p. 128). Note the stepping-stones (p. 25) and the raised sidewalks (p. 25).

CHAPTER II

THE STREETS, TRADES, AND COMMON LIFE

From the higher ground to the east, or any commanding position, Pompeii reveals in one view its compact enclosure and regular plan. It lies athwart and at the terminus of a lava flow, greatest and longest of all the Vesuvian flows, that in some remote epoch anterior to history poured out of the loftier original volcano and pushed in a south-easterly direction towards the sea. The extremity of the flow sinks inwards in a gentle depression, which gives the town a slope to the south with a slight rise on the west side terminating on the edge of a steep bluff. The Gate of Herculaneum, at the north-west corner, marks the highest position, 130 feet above sea-level; the Stabian Gate, through which on this account most of the port traffic passed, is almost due south in the bottom of the hollow. From this point draw a straight line back on the longer axis of the flow; it follows the great central furrow, and cuts the town wall at the Gate of Vesuvius: this is Stabian Street. Cross it by another, two-thirds of the way up, almost at right angles, and you have Nola Street, with

the Gate of Nola on the extreme right, and the street curving in from Herculaneum Gate, Consular Street, behind the houses which have supplanted the ancient wall on that side, as its western terminus. Half-way down draw another line which starts from the east wall at the Gate of Sarno and runs westwards parallel for the greatest part of its length with Nola Street; crossing Stabian Street it veers very slightly to the north and becomes the Street of Abundance, opening on to the Forum. Beyond the Forum its continuation is Marine Street, which, in a steep declivity, passes out through the Marine Gate, against which on the outside a few late houses have found place. From the Forum northwards, across Nola Street, runs Mercury Street, the broadest of all; its direction is inclined inwards towards Stabian Street, but all the streets in that quarter are parallel to it. On the whole, however, with modifications due to inequalities in the site or reconstructions in the neighbourhood of the Forum, the lie of the streets is fixed by the north-west strike of Stabian Street and that of Nola Street at right angles to it; the former being thus the *cardo* (hinge) of Italian town-planning, the latter the *decumanus major*. Another claimant to the former dignity is Mercury Street in its older extent, before the Forum, as we now know it, had been laid out, when it continued all the way to the south. A reason for this preference has been suggested above, and there are others. But for practical modern purposes Stabian Street may best serve as the "hinge" of the city; the excavated part lies almost wholly to the west of it; on

its eastern side only a few streets have been disinterred. At the extreme east, however, the Amphitheatre has long been uncovered, and from this as an apex the outline of the town curves westwards like a sharp-cornered egg. In its greatest length, from Herculaneum Gate to the Amphitheatre, it measures rather more than three-quarters of a mile, in extreme breadth rather more than half a mile. The two great east and west thoroughfares named above, crossed by Stabian Street and a street unnamed, and only partially disclosed to the east of it, thus divide the town into nine great quarters or *regions*, which from the Stabian Gate are numbered against the clock, so that II., III., IV. are, so far, still covered, and I., V., and IX. in the centre have been but partially exposed. Recent excavations have completed Regio VI. towards the Gate of Vesuvius, about which the main interest is at present concentrated. The shorter cross streets further divide up the regions into blocks, which are known, in the ancient Roman fashion, as *insulae* or islands, being isolated units of building. Individual houses are then numbered. The names are, of course, modern; gates are named from the direction to which they point, to Herculaneum, or Vesuvius, or the river Sarno; and streets sometimes from the gate, sometimes from an accident of exploration; the figure of Mercury painted on a house christened Mercury Street, while the Street of Abundance owes its cumbrous title to the misreading of a relief on a public fountain. But the original designation of Stabian Street has been recovered; it

was *Via Pompeiana*, which again suggests its cardinal importance.

In conformity with its original character as a strong place Pompeii was enclosed with walls, which present some interesting features. This was a big undertaking, as the enclosure is three miles round. It really consists of double walls about 15 feet apart and 2 feet 4 inches thick, constructed of the yellow Sarno limestone and tufa, a hardened volcanic ash, in large hewn blocks, both strengthened by closely placed buttresses. The interspace was filled up with earth upon a foundation of rubble, and the whole raised a height of from 26 to 28 feet, according to the ground, above which came a crenelated parapet on the outside, while the inside wall was carried up about 16 feet higher, thus still further screening the town from the unpleasant incidents of fighting. An embankment of earth was piled up against the interior wall, and there were also wide stairways for access to the battlements. Extensive patching at a much later date of rubble under stucco, suggests that, during the long peace which followed the Samnite wars and the Carthaginian invasion, the walls were allowed to fall into serious disrepair. The Social War saw their restoration, but on the steep west face the portion there seems to have disappeared entirely, and the close-ranked houses were thought a sufficient protection. About the same time, and in the same fashion of building, the twelve square towers were added at unequal spaces, more numerous where the approach to the wall was easiest, as between the gates

of Herculaneum and Vesuvius and round the Amphitheatre, at wide intervals where the nature of the ground made this more difficult. A door on the level of the ditch, and the different floors, indicate that their special purpose was to give way for a sortie against an attempt to bring siege-engines close up to the fortifications. Possibly the root of the whole structure is the earthen rampart on the model of the *agger* of Servius Tullius at Rome, the most primitive form of such defences ; and this would go back to the very earliest stage of the town : time and the acquisition of municipal wealth would be required for the construction of the massive retaining walls. When the towers, stuccoed in a white stone pattern, were added, Pompeii, as a fortified site, must have made a brave show, and, well garrisoned, a hard nut to crack, as Sulla was to find.

Eight gates gave access to the town, but two of these are still completely hidden. The Stabian Gate affords the best idea of their original construction. Each would consist of two vaulted passages with their doors and an open interval in which those who forced the first entry would be retained at the mercy of the defenders. But all have undergone repair and partial destruction ; the Gate of Herculaneum was entirely remade in Roman times in the form of a central archway with a lower and narrower one on each side, being no longer intended for purposes of defence. The Marine Gate has been refashioned into a long vaulted passage having two external arched entrances : the

smaller, approached by a flight of steps, was for foot-passengers ; a storeroom opening directly on the lower level of the passage shows that goods of some sort came this way and were kept in bond. The paved roadway outside dips under the hard crust of volcanic ash, and over this a very different type of traffic now streams into Pompeii under the avenue of red-flowering oleander trees. But, in substance, walls and gates belong to the oldest class of building in Pompeii ; in the most remote times it had about the same extent and the same general disposition as it has now. Natural growth had to adapt itself to these conditions, and the first advances beyond its artificial limits were made on the side where their protection could be most easily avoided. In the peaceful latter days several suburbs sprang up in the immediate neighbourhood ; saltmakers (*salinenses*) established themselves by the sea, but the buildings which mark the quays on the ancient Sarno must represent the earliest outside settlement.

The first impression of the streets is their mathematical regularity, from which there are but few departures, and those of necessity. In this respect Pompeii was a laudable contrast to more important centres, to the early irregularities of Rome or Athens clustering round their citadels, and to the mazes of a medieval town due to the same reason. Pompeii is a classic example of rational town-planning, and the idea must have been there from the beginning ; the original laying-out of a site determines its framework at all subsequent stages ; even so modern a city as Turin

follows the lines of the colony of Augustus. Certainly such a town suffers on the picturesque side, particularly when, like Pompeii, it comes to ruin and has its upper half sliced off. The straight, blank thoroughfares disclose its bankruptcy at a glance. Nor do they have even the impressiveness of the broad road; Mercury Street, in the more aristocratic quarter, measures at its widest about 32 feet, and this is the higher limit: an ordinary modern suburban street will be at least 8 feet wider. Abundance Street was a fashionable shopping quarter; it does not exceed 28 feet. Thence we rapidly glide down to alleys not more than 10 feet from wall to wall. Such restriction was no doubt a convention; what may have been the main street of ancient Athens has lately been found to be only 15 feet wide, and Tacitus tells us how the people of Rome objected to having their streets broadened by Nero. It was certain that narrow streets meant more shade, and a summer experience of Pompeii enforces this recommendation. But it is just in these narrow lanes, where the walls press closer, or, on a slope, stand higher, that illusion most easily arises, and there flickers to consciousness the strange sensation of ancientry.

This characteristic of the streets, combined with their solid paving and the height of the sidewalks, gives them the appearance of channels; probably to begin they were, in Greek fashion, actually dug out of the ground, the earth being disposed of about the wall. The narrow sidewalks are retained by a curb of lava

slabs, and their surface is composed of small stones or of pieces of tile or marble forming a concrete, sometimes relieved by a pattern, or simply of the beaten earth. These variations show that this part of the upkeep rested upon the householders, who went as far as their means or taste allowed them. But to pave the main way with roughly polygonal blocks of lava, measuring at the largest about three square feet, must have been a communal business and taken considerable time and expense. No feature brings out more strongly how much was lost to town life by the breach in the continuity of Western civilisation that followed the irruption of the barbarians. It had to start afresh at the muddy, malodorous beginnings which a town like Pompeii had far passed ages before. In the twelfth century Paris was reputed the most beautiful city in the world, yet its streets were like a hogsty, and it was not till the close of the century, under Philip Augustus, that they began to be paved; nor was the undertaking, the first and fundamental necessity of municipal cleanliness, completely carried out till four hundred years later. London began the work centuries later than Paris. In no Western case was the operation as thorough as in Pompeii, where but a few insignificant sections remained without a solid pavement. Apparently it started as an instruction from the closer relations with Rome after the Samnite wars, and from an inscription we can infer that the paving of Regio VII., one of the lower quarters, was in hand before 44 B.C. Not all the streets were open for wheel traffic, many being quite

THE STABIAN GATE

Inner view of the Stabian Gate (p. 21). Note the paving, ruts, and sidewalk (pp. 24, 25); also the construction of the wall (p. 20).

frankly blocked by a water-trough or an upright stone, while those that were plainly show the fact in the often dangerously deep wheel-ruts that score their surface, deep as a heavy vehicle would cut in a muddy road. The ruts are not always continuous, for the softer upper lava gave easiest, and sometimes a new surface is secured by simply changing a block round ; there are places, too, that justify a severe censure upon the Pompeian magistrates. Yet these commonplace tracks are curiously interesting ; in their suggestion of human movement they stir the imagination like the trail of a lost company in a strange land. More apart from modern experience are the rounded stepping-stones that, from one to five in number, here and there but particularly at street corners, bestride the space between the sidewalks. This may seem an unnecessarily obstructive arrangement ; at least there can have been no furious driving in Pompeii ; very probably the only vehicles in use within the city walls were for heavy transport. A rich Pompeian might go home in a litter but not in a chariot, for Mercury Street and Abundance Street, representing first-class residential and business quarters, were closed to anything on wheels. The stepping-stones, then, prevented many inconveniences. For one thing the sidewalks rose high, and, if there was no great hurry, they saved stepping down and up again. In the main, however, they provided a means of avoiding anything uncomfortable or unpleasant on the lower level. There was always water, for example. Flowing fountains were common, as they were and are

in Rome, always the city of fountains, and the gaunt, channelled columns which supported the tanks for local distribution at a convenient pressure, as to-day in Palermo, are very noticeable and unpicturesque erections. Lead pipes, not cast, but doubled over into a pear-shaped section, creep along the sidewalks close to the buildings into which, here and there, they throw off connections; there is a remarkable bunch of them emanating from a low reservoir near the House of the Vettii. Public supplies poured into troughs of lava slabs from a standard ornamented by some relief. A particularly handsome one, at the mouth of a short street near the Marine Gate, has a basin of marble into which the water ran from a jar in relief tipped over by a cock. Leaning, generally on the left hand, the passer-by drank or filled from the jet, and in time has worn with his or her soft palm a smooth depression in the stone hard as iron. A notch on the outside served for the overflow which found its way into the open gutter by the side of the street. There was thus always running water to be avoided, and the superfluity of heavy rain-showers had to be got rid of by the same route till it found an outlet beyond the walls, through double open channels and covered sewers such as may be seen at the west end of Nola Street. Under these conditions the stepping-stones from a convenience became a necessity, especially if, as was normal in a medieval town, the flow was hampered and stagnated by scattered offal or rubbish, like the more offensive deposits that, in the seventeenth century, forced the dwellers in

the Trongate of Glasgow to place "bridge-stones" across their encumbered highway. Moreover, there are various inscriptions or prohibitory devices of a sacred character on the walls to warn off nuisance. Pompeii, like other ancient towns, was defective on the sanitary side, and the stepping-stones amply justified their intervention.

The busy shop-life of Pompeii is written all over it. No longer was it a sedate emporium of market-gardeners and through trade, nor was it dignified by large stores. The small business rules, invading even the more secluded quarters, though in the region (VI.) flanking Mercury Street the shops are relatively much fewer, and it is there that the most handsome houses have been found. But even the well-to-do Pompeian, if his residence, like the House of the Faun, abutted on a main street, did not disdain the profits to be drawn from shops constructed on his frontage and hired out or, in part, utilised by himself. Above a shop came an upper floor, reached by an inside stair; this was the *pergula*, and, in Roman times, when the population pressed on all means of accommodation, these *pergulae* became dwelling-rooms not only for the shopkeeper himself but for unconnected persons, in which case they were reached from the outside. To be born in a pergula was the readiest stamp of social inferiority.

The aspect of a great business thoroughfare, such as the Street of Nola or Stabian Street, must have been that of an Oriental bazaar. The shops, like those of a medieval town, opened on their whole width to the

street and exposed all their stock and activities, probably enhanced by the solicitations of the vendors. At night they were closed by tall shutters sliding in grooves on the wide sill and lintel. Waggons, large and small, here circulated freely; along the curbs, at intervals, holes are bored, to which mules or other pack-animals might be temporarily attached. It was but a step from the sidewalk to the counter faced with irregular pieces of marble. One shop up from the new House of the Golden Cupids has a special feature in the insertion of some marble reliefs among the patchwork, similar to those found on the inner wall of that house itself—in both cases a novel decoration. It is not possible, generally, to attribute to shops their individual business, though certain slab signs may illustrate scattered examples: two men carrying an amphora, a wine-shop; the tools of a mason may be the advertisement of the occupier's business, though rather skied; a goat perhaps marks a dairy or a seller of cheese. Stock in bulk was kept in jars sunk in the counter or in great *dolia*, round jars of a larger size, ranged behind. For shelves there are a few stone steps rising from the inner end of the counter, and lighter articles were hung round the front or from the ceiling. When we find a small hearth at the inner end of a counter shaped like a builder's square, or in the rear, we know that we are in a provision shop of some sort where stuff was sold hot, most often a *thermopolium* specialising in drinks of heated wine mixed with water, a favourite beverage with the Romans.

Wine-shops of the public-house type were as numerous

in Pompeii as they are in any southern Italian town of the present time. The *osteria* is a frequent institution in modern Pompeii, partaking usually, as no doubt in its classic predecessor, of the character of a restaurant. In Roman times, however, they were looked upon as rather disreputable resorts, and a good deal of what is disclosed in Pompeii bears out this reputation. Probably typical of the best class is the large wine-shop at a corner half-way down Mercury Street, the only one to be found there. You could drink at the counter in front, hot or cold as it liked you, or take your liquored ease in the room behind. On the walls of this room are painted characteristic scenes of such an interior. Some customers are standing, others are seated on ornately fashioned stools round a small table; it is the "stool-ridden cook-shop" of Martial, for on the pegs of a cross-bar suspended from the ceiling hang sausages, hams, puddings, and other delicacies. "A very little cold water" is the order attributed to one patron in high white boots—his negus is rather hot for his taste. "One more cup of Setian wine," demands another, showing that the proprietor dealt not only in the local liquor, but in special brands also. Setian wine, as good as Caecuban and so one of the very best, came down from Latium, from what is now Sezze or Sesse, near the Pontine Marshes. Sure enough, another picture shows us wine being transferred in amphorae from a vat formed of a large whole skin drawn on a mule waggon. Greek wines, too, could be had; one Greek wine merchant provided a blend called "Frenzy," another a

tamer "White Drink." And there were livelier doings, for, as we see here and in some other such representations, dice was a favourite game and a method of gambling, and so raised quarrels which might end in the expulsion of his guests by the innkeeper, or their attention being drawn to the warning, "There are magistrates in Pompeii." It was probably cheaper to drink at Edon's tavern, in a very questionable corner of Regio VII.: "Here you can have a drink for a cent (*as*); better for twice as much; for four times you shall have Falernian"—this was the haunt of the "late drinkers" of the election notice already expounded. But the cook-shops proper must have been a domestic necessity, supplying the food of the lower classes, since the smaller houses normally have no hearth, their occupants buying cooked food over the counter, whence, no doubt, the despised position which such places took in the eyes of the wealthier class, who had their private kitchens, and for whom the literary people, of course, speak. The common name for such an establishment, *popina*, is the Oscan form, whose Latin correlative is *coquina*—suggesting that it was of southern, that is, Campanian origin.

The hotel or inn was likewise, from the same point of view, held in despite. A wealthy person when he travelled had his villa to go to, or his friend's ample house: Cicero had six villas to his account. In Pompeii, where there was much coming and going, inns were numerous. When built for the purpose, their general plan was that of a long central apartment with

a kitchen on one side, a row of chambers on the other, and a stable in the rear. Such was the inn of Hermes just inside the Stabian Gate, a convenient situation; it had, too, an upper floor reached by a flight of stairs. The bedroom walls of an inn in Regio VII. preserve some records of its patrons. One runs thus: "Here slept Vibius Restitutus all alone, his heart filled with longings for his Urbana." Other lodgers were a praetorian of the first cohort, three players and a friend Martial, Lucceius Albanus of Abellinum (Avellino), and a citizen of Puteoli who inscribes a benediction on his native town. Of such—soldiers on furlough, actors and commercial men—were the usual guests of an inn. The Elephant Inn in another quarter is so named from the outside painting of an elephant in the coils of a serpent, beside which is a dwarf. Sittius, the occupier, had "restored the elephant," but the place was advertised to let: it had a dining-room (*triclinium*) with three couches. One of the older houses inside the Gate of Herculaneum, that of Sallust, has evidently been extensively enlarged and turned into a first-class hotel, with a public bar on the street, and an open-air dining-table under a vine trellis at the back.

Supplementary to the cook-shops were the bakeries, of which a score have, so far, been excavated. Of old each house baked its own bread, in Rome at least, where the first public bakery was not opened till near the last quarter of the second century, 171 B.C.; and in Pompeii some of the private houses still retain the oven. But baking involved grinding the corn, and, with the increase

in consumption, that was now less a work for slaves than for animals, though the smaller mills would still be operated by hand labour. A mill was constructed of a cone of lava rising from a base of masonry, the top of which was channelled round and covered with sheet lead for the reception of the flour ; the upper millstone was also of lava, and shaped like an hour-glass, resting in a wooden framework on a standard rising from the top of the under stone, and just allowing sufficient room for the grinding of the corn poured in at the top. The hand mills were then worked by means of handspikes inserted in opposite square holes at the waist of the machine ; for a horse or donkey there was an attachment to the upper part of the frame. The dramatist Plautus, we remember, worked at such a mill, and it was a laborious business, bad enough to rank as a punishment. Each bakery had three or four at most, so that the output of wheat-flour and pea-flour could not have been very large ; still, baking seems to have been a substantial kind of business, and the baker Paquius Proculus, as we have seen, was an honoured representative. There were also mechanical kneading-troughs on the modern principle, though primitive. Ovens cannot vary much ; those in Pompeii were heated by a charcoal fire inside, which was scraped out when the necessary heat had been secured. The loaves were then put in and the iron door closed. Several batches of bread have been found in a black carbonised condition, some with the baker's name stamped upon them, round, flat loaves with an upper and lower section, their surfaces divided

by lines radiating from the centre—frail fossils of the breakfast table. In cutting they were sliced downwards as a painting shows.

The old Roman ideal, of course, was the self-supporting household throwing all manual labour upon its women and slaves, the household economy which also marked the early stages of the Carlovingian empire. It was the growth of a relatively poor free class, unable to furnish on such a basis, that brought trades, in a mercantile sense, into being. On the other hand the laundry business, which most naturally attaches itself to the household, seems to have been one of the earliest to drift apart. This might be for Rome, but in more homely Pompeii we may judge it to have been a late division ; only two large establishments are yet known and a third smaller one. The former are adapted from private houses, and are both in the residential region (VI.). Possibly certain other doubtful places are humbler wash-houses. But the *fullonica* proper provided for thorough treatment. Woollen clothing was the principal wear, and it soils easily in a warm climate. When soap was still a new Gaulish invention cleansing was a lengthy process. The garments were steeped in long built vats fed from a bronze tap with water in which an alkaline earth was mixed ; some of this stuff has been preserved. The actual washing was done by men stamping in large round vessels, each standing within a small compartment on a platform above the vats ; on the low walls the operator might rest his hands when upright. Then came drying in the open or in an upper

gallery, bleaching with sulphur fumes on a round, metal cage, raising the nap by means of a stiff brush, and, finally, folding in a press. Fullers might also be drapers or dealers in cloth ready for use, and their prominence in Pompeii would indicate that they were more numerous than the remains definitely attributed to them show. Primus was a fuller with a powerful word in elections; it was doubtless his fullery at the upper end of Stabian Street that belonged to the municipality, and had been rented for a while by Caecilius Jucundus the banker-auctioneer.

But the list of crafts spins out. Pompeian life on this side was fully diversified, and the important classes have already been enumerated. Smiths and potters are venerable businesses; so the cobbler, too, is a very early type of the skilled operative, and an occupation that peculiarly suited, as in modern Italy, the porter of a great mansion whose life was already sedentary. One cobbler's shop of this kind is identified by its tools and an inscription. It is the sketches and paintings, however, that give most information about the craftsmen; the bare shops are hard to identify. Tanners betray themselves easily; Scaura, an Egyptian, must tell us how he sewed hides in one. Potteries leave traces, and for all the articles which they made, from huge *dolia* in which the wine was fermented down to lamps, with all the intervening grades of vessels, the demand must have been steady. Tools corresponding to all the great general categories fill the cases in the Naples Museum, and include a set of up-to-date surgical

instruments, which have given the name to the House of the Surgeon in from the Gate of Herculaneum. Certain articles were imported, even pottery, from northern Italy and Gaul ; and the manufacture of so essential an article as olive oil, the substitute for flesh fat, seems to have been of small extent here. A farm villa at Bosco Reale, three miles to the north, has furnished the only complete installation for this purpose, but oil is not now made in the neighbourhood of Pompeii ; it is a staple product of northern Italy.

Some further mention is due to a Pompeian specialty, the fish sauces or relishes. This industry must have had a very aristocratic connection, and Umbricius Scaurus, who ran several small factories, had probably a family reputation for such delicacies. Many little jars destined for his products have been found. *Garum* was perhaps a fish jelly, in appearance or flavour deserving the trading name "blossom." The "best *liquamen*" was a thoughtful present for a friend. *Muria* may have been a pickle containing choice portions of fish ; there was a specially prepared variety ceremonially "pure" (*casta*), as there was also of *garum*, for the use of the orthodox Jew. Such consignments are identified by the labels usually written upon jars or amphorae.

Caecilius Jucundus stands for quite another class of business. He conducted public sales and loaned money at usurious rates to purchasers—dabbled in anything, in fact, which brought him commission or interest. His

accounts and receipts inscribed on the waxed faces of wooden tablets, usually strung together in threes so as to open like a book, are the only Pompeian relics of literary appearance that have been preserved. Herculaneum has given us the prosy platitudes of a fourth-rate philosopher. Yet Pompeii was not illiterate: it had its schoolmasters who implanted knowledge in the ritualistic fashion that has long outlived them—with a cane; and, more strangely, associated themselves with their pupils in the work of political canvassing.

But, in striking contrast to the taste for things Greek so abundantly displayed in other forms of culture, the literature of Pompeii was Roman. Greek, indeed, was freely spoken; it was a trading language and, further, infected the local speech. Still, the literary quotations or allusions scribbled on the walls are from Latin authors—Virgil, Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullus. Schoolboys seem to be responsible for the first-named; the others chimed in with the dominant interest of such as took the trouble to confide their feelings to a wall. Fervid and rejected love alike find expression and, as always, in unqualified strains. But the basic philosophy, nevertheless, comes out in the assertion that "He who has never loved a woman is no gentleman." Occasionally there is a graceful greeting to 'dear, dead women,' to some Cestilia, "queen of Pompeians," or Victoria, or a little maiden unnamed, or to a husband or wife, or to some light-o'-love Serena. Certain memoranda may have turned out awkward. "Romula tarries here with Staphylus" is the confession

of a wall, but on a pillar in the house of Jucundus we expose "Staphilus here with Quieta." Methe flaunts her love for an actor; Victor advertises himself in slippery places. Inscriptions of an unpleasant character are in goodly number; the itch for this sort of self-revelation is not confined to the ancients or to Pompeii. Our public compliments or invective we now utter through more regular channels, but the Pompeian had to do it with his charcoal or stilus on the house-walls. Some of these had a very pointed bearing: "Good health to whoever invites me to dinner"; or a bare-faced eulogy of Terentius Eudoxus for the handsome way in which he acts towards his friends. There is no end to such effusions, trifles for most, wherefore one churlish contributor passes judgment in the sentiment:

> Wall, I wonder you don't go smash
> Under the weight of such silly trash.
>
> Admiror, paries, te non cecidisse ruinis,
> Qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas.

Could he and his fellow-scribblers have dreamed whose eyes should, in distant ages, curiously decipher their random utterances, or how their lightest thoughts should be treasured in grave tomes in the libraries of the learned!

As may have been gathered, and these *graffiti* show, the population of Pompeii was of a mixed character. The Samnite leaven, though merged in the Roman mass, was still discernible and clung to its local dialect, the echoes of which may linger in the Neapolitan speech.

Of Greeks there were many, traders and also artisans of a higher order—sculptors, painters, and decorators, though not all such. Egyptians were a commercial introduction, and Abinnerichus, a dealer in wine, may have been a Syrian ; there are other indications of the presence of Orientals. Jews might be expected ; Mary and Martha, slaves in a weaver's factory, may have been among the spoils of the Jewish campaigns of Titus ; it was clearly a Jew who, in forecast or in presence of the final catastrophe, scratched on the walls of a house the ominous names *Sodoma*, *Gomora*. A population so compounded has its irresponsibilities and loosenesses, and port life is never of the cleanliest, but the rashly prudish judgments passed upon Pompeii are very possibly overdone. In such a town of at least 20,000 inhabitants there would be, necessarily, an unhealthy strain, "lavish manners" in the Shakespearian sense, and there is a good deal of tangible evidence to this effect. Would many modern towns of the same grade, if put to the Pompeian test, show less? Phallic symbolism in modern eyes is simply indecent, but it has no such reference where charms of this class are still worn, as among the unsophisticated peasantry of Apulia. After all, the reserved pictures and objects recovered from the ruins are not strikingly numerous. The matter need not be laboured ; a little reflection and a slight knowledge of the inner life of the larger Western cities should spare Pompeii much of the lurid colouring in which the humdrum existence of a very ordinary provincial town has been glibly draped. Pompeii has

had its portion of the eternal secret laid open; the setting, at least, is not very sumptuous.

Such, then, was the life that filled these streets, now silent as their stones. By day it trickled through the lanes and more sedate quarters on to or from the public places and thronging thoroughfares, a white array in its dominant note, but with lines and splashes of strong bright colouring, such as the ancients loved, on garments and accoutrements. Waggons and carts, with loosely attached mules or horses, clanked and bumped over the worn pavement and down the deep ruts; street merchants proffered and appraised their bric-a-brac, or fruits and flowers; porters and pack-mules with jangling neck-bells threaded their way through the traffic, turning off here and there to their destinations; citizens hurried and jostled along the narrow sidewalks, eager and vivacious, past gaily panelled wall-spaces or gaping shop-fronts where the goods plucked at their sleeves. Puffs of steam from the cook-shops and the odours of their food crossed the less pleasant exhalations from the garbage and wash in the gutters. Interested persons would stop to read on a public *album* the latest political appeal or public advertisement of shops or houses to let, or of articles stolen; others bent at some corner to draw or drink from the splashing jet of a fountain; or dodged for the stepping-stones, or swallowed a hot or cold refresher at an open bar, or cast the hood over the head and dived into some noisy tavern to consort with dubious company at wine or dice. As in modern and, still

more, older Naples, there would be toilettes in the public gaze and a frank exposition of domestic employments in a naïve and careless way. Night descends quickly in the south, bringing a glaring moon or stars with the sparkle of gems upon velvet; the shops are shuttered, the houses close as a prison, the streets in shadow or utter gloom; the nervous passenger lights his way by a wavering taper or a horn-framed lantern, or, if rich, by the links of his slaves; a night-walk may be an adventure, for footpads and roysterers given to practical jokes then take the streets for their province; the noise of the day returns in boisterous and erratic gusts, and the early-to-bed Pompeian, like Macerior, turns on his unquiet pallet and vows that in the morning he will inscribe on the nearest *album* a personal request to the aedile to put some restraint upon these murderers of his sleep.

CHAPTER III

HOUSES AND DOMESTIC LIFE

I

THE shepherds who came down from Alba Longa and founded Rome brought with them their type of dwelling-house, the round hut of wood and wattled stubble which we see modelled in their burial-urns. Their first step towards a more roomy and convenient home life was to adopt the oblong house of the Etruscans. In origin this was, like the northern "Hall," a simple structure with a wide doorway to light the interior, and a hole in the roof through which escaped the smoke of the hearth. But from difference of climate came a divergence of development. The roof aperture in the Hall of the north never extended, and was in time masked by a covering; in the southern house, under more genial skies, it became the dominant architectural feature. The ancient usage perpetuated itself in the name; from the vagrant smoke which once blackened its surfaces the central hall, representing the Italian house in its simplest form,

was always known as the *atrium* (*ater*, black). The aperture was widened in a square shape formed by the rectangular crossing of four great beams on which rested the extremities of an inward sloping roof, producing the Etruscan or *Tuscan atrium*. In such an interior all the ordinary operations of family life had place. It would soon be found necessary to deal with the rain which entered by the roof, and provision was made with a shallow tank to which the name of *impluvium* attached itself, while the opening above was distinguished as the *compluvium*. The hearth for cooking had then to be shifted aside, but the jar or well for the water-supply of the household remained near, with the table for the family meals, in the light. At the far end, opposite the door, was placed the bed of the parents. Behind and around the dwelling stretched the garden.

Increasing refinement of life next set up interior modifications. The heat of summer brought meals into the garden under a slight wooden verandah at the back of the house. The master's bed retired into a recess; and when verandah and recess were finally thrown into one they formed the *tablinum*, which then specialised as a dining-room, but, in more elaborate establishments, came to serve other purposes. Bedrooms were partitioned off on either side of the door and up the walls, leaving, however, in the middle or at the upper end two open transepts known as *alae* (wings). In these the nobler Romans stored the family archives, particularly the masks of ancestors,

those family portraits in wax which, according to Sallust, stirred to emulation the minds of such men as Scipio. The rooms flanking the door now supplied a narrow passage of entry, the *fauces* ("jaws"), and when the door was retired somewhat inwards, off what was becoming a regular street, the front portion of this passage constituted the *vestibulum* or vestibule.

With these dispositions in mind we may turn to Pompeii, putting aside mere makeshift domiciles of no particular character and rooms over or behind shops. The common factor of the characteristic house, then, is the atrium. In a certain number of cases, an example of which is always turning up, the absence of an impluvium suggests that there was no corresponding opening in the roof. That, however, is on the whole unusual. A house recently cleared illustrates an early stage of development. The hearth is still at one side of the atrium, and the tablinum, which opens nearly its whole width thereon, displays a mosaic pattern on its outer half only to be understood by the fact that the inner portion was occupied by the dining couches and table. With its half-dozen other rooms, large and small, grouped round the main apartments, this might be a good middle-class dwelling. Particularly interesting in its archaic character and evidences of growth is the House of the Surgeon, built before 200 B.C. and so in the earliest stage of the connection with Rome. There is no outer vestibule—indeed this is never a feature of any importance in a Pompeian house; the aristocratic Pompeian was not blessed with the crowd of clients

who beset the doors of a Roman noble, for whom the vestibule served as a sort of waiting-room. The atrium has its suite of apartments on either side and one on each side of the fauces, that to the left turned, later, into a shop communicating with the house. The tablinum is open back and front, which became the normal structure; it could be closed in chilly weather by curtains in front and shutters behind. On each side is a large room; these might serve as dining-rooms in winter. In the rear is the garden, beyond a verandah of which the roof rested on square pillars. But this garden, as well as open ground to the side, has been encroached upon by subsequent building laid off in many rooms, with a corner for the kitchen, which was no longer a becoming institution in the atrium. These later erections, too, had a story above, but not the original part of the house with its lofty rooms and tablinum quite 20 feet high. Here, then, we have an example of the Italic house complete on its own plan, but under pressure of more exacting comfort and greater number of occupants—some portion of the additions being for slave domestics—forced to expand in an irregular fashion over its vacant ground, and growing by accretions.

It is evident that the atrium type of house had reached its structural limits, apart from mere increase of size which would have raised technical difficulties. Growth upwards was also circumscribed; an upper floor could not be carried over the compluvium. That upper stories became general is borne witness to by

the many traces of stairs; the name *cenacula*, for such apartments, shows that their first purpose was to provide a dining-room. That they were not otherwise considered to be of primary importance is shown by the fact that the stair never became a decorative or even handsome feature; only sometimes, as notably in the House of Ariadne, constructed of stone, more generally of wood, it is little more than a superior type of ladder. Stairs were of slight construction, whence their wholesale disappearance, and rather insertions than an integral part of the architectural scheme. A special feature of the first floor, in a few cases, was a covered balcony resting upon projecting beams. By careful manipulation it has been possible to restore examples of this class. Higher the Pompeian builders did not care to go; the three-storied edifices on the west face owe their character to the slope on which they are built, like the towering "lands" of Edinburgh.[1]

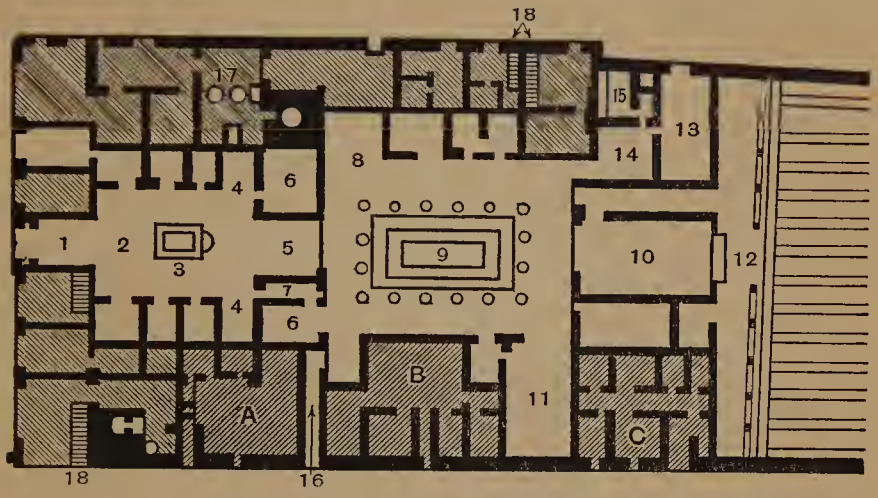
But the Roman builder loved symmetry and the level, and he would not renounce the ancestral atrium. Therefore, as he had borrowed it to begin, he now borrowed the Hellenistic house and attached it to the original mansion. As the examples exposed at Delos and Priene show, the Greek house was essentially a cloistered enclosure or an open court with rooms on three sides. The Pompeian house was thus doubled

[1] Trimalchio boasted that his reconstructed house had four dining-rooms, twenty bedrooms, a dining-room upstairs with his own bedroom, and a sitting-room for his wife.—PETRONIUS (died A.D. 66).

on a new plan ; space was taken, normally behind the atrium and so from the garden, and surrounded on three or, if possible, all sides by a colonnade, off which rooms were built. The central space was then treated as a flower-garden, with sometimes, as in the House of Ariadne, a long basin for fish. But just as the atrium, with Latin names for its different parts, betrays its nationality, so does the peristyle by its own name (*peristylium*, "the place surrounded by columns"); and those of its attachments, all Greek. The corridor leading thereto by the side of the tablinum was the *andron*, recalling the Greek division of the "men's" part of the house ; the *oecus* (*oikos*, "house") was a handsome side apartment used as a summer dining-room; and in the part of the peristyle corresponding to the tablinum was the *exedra*, a saloon or drawing-room, which also might be used for dining when there was brilliant company.

It seems clear that the family life, in such cases, migrated, in the main, into the more pleasant and retired peristyle. But our knowledge of the precise use to which the different parts of the house were put is somewhat indefinite. The kitchen is easily identified by its flat, high-built hearth, on which charcoal was burnt in open fires, replenished from the tiny arched cellar underneath: in the House of the Vettii cooking utensils were found in place, one resting on a tripod ready for heating. Its position was now in connection with the peristyle, or it might be off the atrium ; there was no rule in the matter, though the peristyle or a

convenient corner by the garden was preferred. Store-rooms would be near, also the private baths to benefit by the heat, and the latrine. These places, with the exception of the baths, do not impress the modern eye as ministering much to luxury. Looking at the tiny



SKETCH PLAN OF AN INSULA, CONTAINING THE HOUSE OF PANSA.

1. Vestibule and *Fauces*.
2. *Atrium* and Rooms (*cubicula*).
3. *Impluvium*.
4. *Alae*.
5. *Tablinum*.
6. Dining-rooms (*triclinia*).
7. *Andron* or Passage to Peristyle.
8. *Peristyle*.
9. Basin in Peristyle.
10. *Exedra* or Saloon.
11. Dining-room (*oecus*).
12. Garden with Colonnade and Vegetable Beds.
13. Coach-House.
14. Kitchen.
15. Stable.
16. Back Entrance (*posticum*).
17. Bakery with Oven, etc.
18. Stairs to Upper Rooms.

A, B, C, Private Houses. Other shaded parts are Shops.

kitchens, with the little pastry-oven and the simple cooking arrangements, one wonders whence Bulwer-Lytton conjured up the gorgeous feasts that strew the pages of *The Last Days of Pompeii*. A room near the entry may be assumed for the doorkeeper, a sort of footman, and a manger points to a stable near the garden in the House of Pansa with a separate entrance.

But, generally, with few exceptions, the rooms of a Pompeian house strike one as small, though this is in part due to their empty condition. It is particularly true of the bedrooms, even in the largest houses. These are identified by some indication of the position of the bed, an alcove in the wall or two alcoves for a double-bedded room, some alteration of design in the mosaic floor or an actual couch of masonry for a mattress. Our comforts and luxuries were not those of the Pompeians in a sunny clime. Marks of an appropriate character distinguish dining-rooms. The upper-class Romans had adopted the Greek practice of reclining at meals, three on each of three couches arranged round a small central table; thus the name *triclinium* (three-couched) for a dining-room is Greek. A recovery of the handsome bronze fittings of one of these couches has made possible the restoration of its wooden framework. When, about the beginning of the Empire, round tables came into fashion, the couches were arranged in a circular manner, giving the *sigma* from the resemblance to the Greek letter. One picture shows us a feast of this type. There are five guests, two of them ladies, all bare from the waist upwards, reclining round a circular tripod table, and waited on by two domestics. They are shaded from above by curtains, as the friends of Horace were at a feast they attended, when the curtains collapsed and scattered a shower of dust over all below. The conversation at this free-and-easy repast has reached the drinking chapter, and is inscribed above: "Enjoy yourselves," says one;

"Just so, your good health," remarks another; while the gentleman in the centre announces that he is going to sing. The ritual of such festivity is thus very old, nor was it young in Pompeii.

Another sketchy illustration presents a more complex form of enjoyment where, again, the wine-cup passes round, and entertainment is provided in the form of female dancers, one of whom is performing in as much costume as served for Hans Breitmann's water-maiden. Last scene of all, and this time gentlemen only in tunic and full toga; the company is breaking up, and is very clearly much the worse for wine; one, who looks his condition, is having his shoes put on by a slave, but is offered a final, and probably disastrous, drink, while his opposite is on his feet, or rather toes, for only the support of a slave saves him from falling prostrate on the floor. Apparently an ordinary sedate feast was no subject for an artist with an eye to the picturesque.

The Romans had their seasonal fashions, and, in the south, open-air meals are a very natural suggestion. Thus some houses have even permanent fixtures for such a purpose, a *triclinium* or *biclinium* (two couches) or a *sigma* of masonry in the garden, with a central column for the table-top, and, as in the garden of the House of Sallust, columns to support a trellis of close-leaved vines. The couches, which slope slightly outwards, were, of course, spread with mattresses, probably, like those in the pictures, covered with a stuff patterned in stripes. Children and the poorer class continued to

take their food sitting : to them was left the simpler life of native Italy.

II

The characteristic Pompeian house, then, of which the House of Pansa or Nigidius Maius—apparently its earlier and later proprietors—may serve as a type, resolves itself into two main parts, the hall or atrium and the cloistered court or peristyle, each with offsets of rooms and a partial or complete upper story limited by the nature of the ground-plan. Variations of type necessarily follow from variations in the resources and means of the occupiers, or from differences of site. A peristyle might have columns on three sides only, terminating in the back wall, as in the House of the Tragic Poet, erratically so called, Lytton's "House of Glaucus"; or it might be so extensive as to need an upper story, with a double row of columns, only in front, a form well exemplified in the House of the Centurion. Normally it would come in the rear of the atrium, but in the double House of Castor and Pollux it occupies the central division, and in the House of the Golden Cupids, opened to the public in 1908, it is placed diagonally and entered from the left-hand corner. Any further extension of the house is done simply by the duplication of these parts, either by the acquisition of a neighbouring house, giving two atriums with a peristyle, or of original design as in the House of the Faun, where the two atriums flank each other, and a larger peristyle follows a smaller one. In such a mansion the

smaller atrium and its apartments may well have served as quarters for the domestics—the "servants' hall."[1] Others, as with the occupants of the House of Pansa, might possess a large kitchen-garden in the rear; the elder Pliny, with his botanical interests, remarks "that it is a nice thing for a man to grow at least some of his own vegetables."

The atrium, too, had its varieties, marked by the introduction of columns supporting the corners of the compluvium. This simplified and strengthened the roofing and allowed of a larger opening, whether in a four-columned or *tetrastyle atrium*, such as that in the House of the Silver Wedding, or in one provided with six or more, a *Corinthian atrium*, exampled on a large scale in the House of Ariadne. This modification did not necessarily mean any increase of size; the tetrastyle of the House of the Faun is much smaller than the main atrium, which is Tuscan. That, too, is monumental in its dimensions, like all the atriums before the Roman colonisation, being about 53 by 33 feet, with a height of not less than 28 feet; and this is only exceptionally exceeded in length and breadth. In the latest period the atrium tended to dwindle, especially in height, as upper stories came more into service. The main advantage of the columns was to secure more light; as we see in the restoration of the House of Fronto, the atrium, even in brilliant sunshine, could be a rather gloomy place: "Our ancestors," says

[1] Or it may have provided accommodation for guests. Trimalchio said he had such an *hospitium*.—PETRONIUS.

Seneca, "did not think themselves comfortable unless in obscurity;" and the predilection holds good for Pompeii. Therefore, as the rings on the columns of the House of the Silver Wedding show, the more open compluvium could be shaded with curtains, and peristyles were similarly equipped. The Pompeian feared more the heat and dazzle of the sun than his winter's rages. His outside windows were but shuttered openings, mere barred slits or small square apertures on the ground floor, much larger on the first floor where they were a safer means of lighting rooms; of considerable size where they were made to open on the peristyle in some of the larger apartments, in these cases, however, always furnished with folding shutters and curtains. Glass is a rare embellishment, and is generally set in the masonry as in the slit window of the House of the Faun; but this was true of medieval houses too, down to the thirteenth century at least. It takes no place as an architectural factor. The Pompeian house is constructed on the ancient principle of lighting and airing by means of central courts. For heating the high, dark rooms there were only portable braziers burning charcoal; chimneys were thus unnecessary, kitchen smoke escaping by a hole in the wall: they are no very apparent feature of a southern town to-day.

Of course a house turned inwards upon central courts as light-wells had its disadvantages; the courts were under observation from the upper parts, even from neighbouring roofs. This is made clear by many passages in Plautus. "All my neighbours are witnesses

of what is going on in my house by constantly looking through my impluvium," says one of his characters, where impluvium means the aperture in the roof.

The floor of the fauces sloped up slightly from the street, and like that of the atrium was paved with coarse mosaic. On the threshold, in some cases even on the sidewalk, a greeting was frequently worked in a different colour, or in more than one—*salve* or *have* (*ave*), as it spells opposite the House of the Faun, both signifying "welcome." Or there might be a larger device, like the familiar figure of the chained dog which inaugurates the House of the Tragic Poet with the warning *cave canem*, "beware of the dog." The dog was sometimes a reality as one abandoned survival shows. "Welcome gain" (*salve lucrum*) is an index to the character not only of the occupant of the House of Siricus, but of the bulk of the wealthy merchants and parvenus who were now usurping the place of the earlier aristocracy.

Usually, in houses of any size, there were outer and inner doors, or rather sets of doors, with two, three, or even four leaves swinging on pivots set in iron or bronze-lined sockets above and below. Being of wood none has survived, but in this, as in so many other cases, plaster moulds could be taken of the impressions left in the cavities which they filled, and in the museum at Pompeii a reconstructed specimen of such a door may be seen, having panels in a frame studded with large-headed nails, bolts, bar, and a simple form of lifting

lock. They were handsome to view, but hung heavily, and the strength of their fastenings is another tribute to the determined privacy of the Pompeian gentleman when he was so minded, or, it may be, to the persistence of the Pompeian burglar. In the atrium, at any rate, was kept the strong box of the proprietor, brass-bound and jointed by an iron rod through the bottom to a base of masonry. A super-wealthy man might even have two, but such chests have yielded little treasure; their late proprietors or other agents have seen to that; they were the most obvious objects of search, and in some cases access has been forced to them through an adjoining wall. Besides the family bank many atriums displayed the bust of the head of the house on a tall sheath-like pedestal near the passage (*andron*) leading past the tablinum to the peristyle. It is in this form that we have preserved to us the coarse features of Caecilius Jucundus — a gift from his freedman. Another such bust in the house of Vesonius Primus is the gift of a slave. These are the equivalent of the presented portrait of modern times, testifying to the irrepressible admiration of the subscribers. But, out of the numerous busts of this class that must once have been present, only three have been found; naturally their originals would not have failed to dig out works of art so personal in their interest, and it may therefore be hazarded that, where they remain, the subjects had perished, possibly with their families, in the ultimate disaster; so that, somewhere on the plain beyond, the reviving herb may spring from the jocular unlovely lip

of Jucundus or the more Roman-like features of the dignified Cornelius Rufus.

The dark mosaic or concrete floor of the atrium ordinarily is relieved by some simple arrangement of bright-coloured squares or discs with stripes parallel to the sides of the impluvium. Above was a panelled and painted ceiling under the tiles of the penthouse roof, but nothing remains to indicate its actual appearance.[1] Inevitably the flood of light from the compluvium made that part the centre of observation, just as in earlier times it had been the centre of the interior life. In the dimmer light of the sides it is rare to find pictures of great importance; they would have been lost there; but the House of the Poet offers an exception. Much care, however, is expended on the impluvium and its accessories. The basin, about 18 inches deep, of tufa in the older houses later shines out in a covering of marble or of a white marble-like limestone, or is set with coloured marbles, and adorned with foliage or other appropriate artistry. The ancient furniture of the atrium, in front of the tablinum, suffers apotheosis. The table is of marble on richly carved supports, such as the two griffins with rams-horned lions upholding that of Cornelius Rufus; it becomes a sideboard (*cartibulum*) on which are shown some handsome pieces of plate. What may have been the primitive altar for libations, or of the Lares, is secularised into a base for a statuette, usually a boy holding some creature—dog, duck, dolphin, or a shell—from which

[1] Trimalchio's ceiling was gilded.

springs a jet of water falling into the ancient wash-basin or sink, now a simple thing in marble; while another jet may spring from the centre of the impluvium, each worked by a concealed key. The overflow of the impluvium drains into a cistern at the side, represented above the level by a high, round, well-like curb of terra-cotta or marble with a movable top (*puteal*), whence water was drawn by means of a cord which has usually left a furrow on the lip. Not all atriums are so fully equipped; one or other detail may be wanting or altered in character. The hearth, however, is entirely cleared out of the richer atriums; no doubt the earliest of improvements, which also began the external line of division between served and servitors, since the domestics would go with the hearth. But its accompaniment, the shrine of the household divinities, the *Lares*, might or might not follow; it generally did, but Caecilius Jucundus has his still in the atrium; in the House of the Cupids it occupies a corner of the peristyle; in the House of the Vettii, and very ordinarily, it is in the immediate neighbourhood of the kitchen. The open *alae* were a superfluity to the Pompeians, even to most Romans, who had no distinguished forebears to commemorate, unless, like the snobs of all ages, they counterfeited descents, as Caecilius Jucundus did when—as the names he gave to his sons show—he tried to foist a relationship on the Roman Caecilii Metelli. In Pompeii these recesses are sometimes absent, sometimes reduced to one, and usually turned into great presses filled with shelves, whose

PERISTYLE OF THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII

Peristyle of the House of the Vettii as restored (p. 59). The pillars fluted in white stucco had, originally, ornate capitals diversified with colour, like that to the left. The architrave had a white stucco acanthus arabesque in relief on a yellow ground, traces of which may be seen on the left side. The tall pedestal in the garden supports a bust of Bacchus, the other side of which is a bacchante. Traces of painting are still apparent. In the left foreground is ivy trained in the form of a cone, as it is painted on the dado of the wall (p. 58).

traces are yet visible, and so might serve as wardrobes or libraries. Similarly, unutilised corners or the under-part of stairs were also shelved; and, besides, the Pompeian had his free-standing wardrobes or presses of wood, an example of which has been put together from moulds procured in the same way as those of doors.

On the whole, however, the atrium was tending to sink in importance, especially where the house was large and there was plenty room elsewhere; the House of the Citharist has absorbed several adjacent ones, and so, on rather irregular lines, has been provided with two atriums, entered at right angles from different streets, and three peristyles side by side, with many apartments, again, behind these. In this case the chambers of the atrium are given over to the slaves and house purposes. The peristyle, or rooms looking upon a garden, became the favourite residence, and, as a convenience, had usually a side entrance of its own from the street, a back door. The peristyle was itself a garden close, for the central open space was laid out in formal flower-beds. The Romans loved gardens, however small, and, in Pompeii, sometimes a mere table-cloth of free ground is so disposed; very often vistas of gardens painted on the back wall seek to prolong the pleasing spectacle in front. By careful removal of the overlying ash it has been possible to follow the plan of these surfaces, whether the long narrow beds of the kitchen-garden or the curving flower-beds of the court. The contents of the latter are exhibited in decorative treatment on the surrounding walls, and,

with such guidance, the peristyle gardens of the House of the Vettii and the House of the Golden Cupids have been replanted. Characteristic on the wall dadoes, and now in these revivified flower-beds, is the ivy trained round a central stick in the form of a cone ; of the many blooms shown selections have been made, such as iris, narcissus, lily, marguerite, gladiolus, and of the decorative plants the gracefully curving acanthus, the aloe, and others ; but the staple of Roman gardens was the rose, their queen of flowers, which was equally prized in Pompeii and Campania generally. And these floral displays were not confined to the garden proper ; if the garden had a low balustrade a furrow on the top would be planted ; there were flower-boxes of stone, or a great jar for a palm ; the atrium at the border of the impluvium or the tablinum might also display its lines or masses of blossom. If there was a basin in the peristyle it might be shaded with a vine, as in the House of the Centenary, where posts have been fixed in the ancient holes and the green arbour set growing again. But the garden of itself did not complete the Pompeian ideal, even with the rigidity and control which marks the general Roman conception of such a place ; it had a regular furniture of marble tables, elevated basins, and hermes often bearing a double-faced bust, the persistent Bacchus and Ariadne or a Faun and a Bacchante ; the House of the Cupids, so rich in theatrical reminiscences, shows slabs sculptured with acting masks. The garden of the House of Lucretius is crowded with small marble figures or

groups, many of them animals. The figures and sculptured table legs in the peristyle of the House of the Vettii present distinct traces of colour, of yellow manes on lions' necks, of painted eyes and hair on the busts. Some statuettes are of bronze on marble pedestals. But the Pompeian did not abstract the senses ; amid this fantasy of colour and form rose and fell refreshing and musical jets and sprays of water, "first of singers," from a central fountain, from some duck or dolphin in the arms of a chubby boy ; or specially in the garden with but a single colonnade, or in an incomplete peristyle, from a richly designed, arched mosaic fountain in the back wall, embossed with shells on its deep blue groundwork, where the water fell in a sparkling cascade down narrow steps, and, as in the House of Apollo, the painter carried the eye from its flow up a river spanned by a bridge, or, as in the House of the Little Fountain, through branches of trees, that are perches for birds, to a summer sky. There is no limit to the petty artifices of the Pompeian gardener ; he overdid his business, as most methods of decoration tended to be overdone in Pompeii. The columns of the peristyle, handsome enough in themselves, which, in their uncovered state, give the general view of the city so marked a characteristic, could not be left in the white simplicity of the fluted stucco which covered their core of tufa or brick building. The capitals must be touched up in blue and red, while the bottom third was made smooth, and coloured, for most, a deep red, and they might even

be carriers of fountains. In the House of the Cupids they are alternately red and yellow below, while at the corners of the upper side, which is raised above the level of the rest—a form of the Rhodian peristyle in which the north end absorbed the southern exposure more fully by a higher elevation—the columns have a flat-headed beading, and the two in the centre are merged in pilasters supporting a high pediment whence broad steps lead down to the garden and central fountain. Between the pillars hang discs bearing reliefs and masks, a general feature in the peristyles, while some marble reliefs have been built into the west wall, apparently, as not originally intended for such a purpose, an insertion made possible by rebuilding after the destructive earthquake of A.D. 63. These novel features give this small enclosure an imposing and attractive appearance; if the busts found there are those of the proprietor and his wife, as is more than likely, they were persons of refinement and intellectual qualities with, possibly, to judge from their artistic surroundings, a taste for, or strong interest in, the drama. This peristyle, like that of the House of the Vettii, has had its roof replaced with tiles of the ancient pattern, so that in either one may easily dream oneself back into the golden prime of these charming abodes.

In sharp contrast with its rich interior the outside of such a dwelling is unimpressive or utterly plain. Even the lofty pilastered doorway of the earlier mansions, typified by that of the Faun or Pansa, later shrinks to

external insignificance. The latter is only the central strip of the *Insula Arria Polliana*, which Cneius Nigidius Maius bought, to embank the free-standing house with lines of shops and minor dwellings to let. The House of the Faun, however, occupies a whole insula of itself, a veritable palace, and shops are confined to its front ; it is a hundred yards long by about thirty broad, and its side walls, flanking narrow alleys, are absolutely bare, save for the high, small, irregularly placed windows that emphasise the monotony by their shrinking and haphazard intervention. Such blank surfaces were usually panelled in red or yellow on the overlying stucco, with dividing bands and lines of a darker colour, green or blue, and a dark dado ; on the east side of the Street of Mercury the rather old houses have a plain solid façade of tufa blocks : the sides of public buildings on the streets may have sunk panels or handsome pilasters in stucco, where the free spaces were often used for public notices. But to the northern eye, accustomed to external designs in house-building, the Pompeian house is a somewhat paradoxical structure with its real front, in respect of architectural design, turned inwards. Windows, chimneys, and stair are the dominant factors in the house we know ; the Pompeian builder had to provide no chimneys, tucked a stairway into a convenient corner, and had really no glass to handle. This last fact gives the key to the whole structure. Glass, as we have seen, was certainly familiar, but was quite insufficient in quantity or kind or cheapness to affect domestic architecture. Nor did

western Europe see its use in this way at all general before the thirteenth century, and for some centuries thereafter it was still a comparative luxury; mostly confined at first to churches, as in Pompeii it was being applied to the public baths. Of fancy glassware there are many beautiful examples in goblets, drinking-vessels, vases, and other forms, frequently Venetian in type or of Phoenician make, clouded and richly tinted. It was known, too, as a substitute for the polished metal mirror, and to this end there is a small circular insertion at the entrance corner of the peristyle in the House of the Cupids, allowing of a last glance at the toilette ere passing into the atrium or out. But in the absence of glass windows, to light and air a Pompeian house, or its originals, while preserving privacy, was a problem to be solved only in the way we have described, by roof openings and central courts. Further, a southern climate invites much of the house life into the open air, and while the poor shuffled on to the street, the more refined and sensitive rich sought retirement also. Caesius Blandus, the retired soldier who hired his shop to a cobbler, took his constitutional under the portico of his peristyle, and has recorded on the wall that ten times round made 640 paces. The glass-windowed house of the West has now overrun the South, but the Pompeian house is the type of the ancient Mediterranean dwelling, and its nearest extant approximation is to be found on the more conservative margins of that sea. As in Pompeii, the upper stories of original Cairo houses are fragile impositions, as, too, they were

in ancient Rome, where their frequent collapse is turned to satiric account by Juvenal. The houses of Moorish design, which Borrow found in Spain, present many of the leading features treated of above : " His habitation, like a genuine Moorish house, consisted only of one story. It was amply large, however, with a court and stable. All the apartments were deliciously cool. The floors were of brick or stone, and the narrow and trellised windows, which were without glass, scarcely permitted a ray of sun to penetrate into the interior " ; of those in Seville, " The houses are, for the most part, built in the Moorish fashion, with a quadrangular patio or court in the centre, where stands a marble fountain constantly distilling limpid water. The courts, during the time of summer heats, are covered over with a canvas awning, and beneath this the family sit during the greater part of the day. In many, especially those belonging to the houses of the wealthy, are to be found shrubs, orange trees, and all kinds of flowers." The Moors did not invent such houses ; they took them over from their Romanised predecessors. Further parallels are the paucity of furniture and its easily portable character, the consequent number of small rooms not specially defined in use, the blank outer wall, the projecting covered balcony, the narrow shaded streets, and the gaping shops—all which help us to picture Pompeii as, in the modern sense, of Oriental aspect, little resembling the Western type of town which its geographical position now suggests.

Of furnishings, however, one cannot speak with

entire certainty, so many things, being of wood, have perished—bedsteads, couches, stools, and tables, apart from such as were made of bronze or marble. Pictures help to bridge over this gap in our knowledge, and in the House of Vibius one dining-room has provided us with the bronze mountings and legs and moulds of the wooden framework of the couches. The ornaments of the bronze, of half-figures and scroll and chequer designs are partly cast, partly beaten work; the wood was walnut, the mattress rested on crossing straps, and there was a head-board. A bed must have been pretty similar; stools had usually neither back nor legs. The appearance of the tables has already been sketched; those of bronze were, in general, tripods, with gracefully ornamented legs almost always terminating in a lion's paw, whether surmounted by a sphinx or half-figure or other device. Sometimes sliding and hinged bars uniting the legs allow these to be extended and the table top to be lowered. This might be of bronze and have a raised rim to shield objects of value displayed on it, or of marble or some choice wood. Then there had to be provision for lighting the house at night or dark corners in the day, and this was very plentiful to judge from the number of lamps in terra-cotta and bronze that have outlived more massive but more mortal articles. Over thirteen hundred have been found in the Forum Baths alone, and a smoky and smelly illumination it must have been. Yet Seneca tells us of decadents who turned their night into day, in the search for novel excitements; "light-fliers" and "lamp-

livers," he calls them. The number of nozzles on a lamp may run to fourteen. They were of two great classes; those provided with a handle, and those which were placed on a stand about eighteen inches high, or stood on or were suspended from a standard that might rise to five feet, and in certain examples could be lowered or elevated at will. All the fittings gave scope for ornament, which was fully applied even on the terra-cotta, but most thoroughly and effectively where the objects were of bronze. On the lamp itself the handle might curve in an acanthus leaf or the neck of an animal, the cover bear festoons or a cupid or Silenus or some other figure appropriately occupied. The stand might be a bronze table in miniature or a pillar with architectural features, having projecting arms above the capital from which the lamps were hung, or take a more sentimental but less graceful form in a bare tree-trunk and branches. A most handsome standard rests upon the familiar claws, and has a fluted Ionic column supporting a sphinx, on which rests a circular flower-like plate for the lamp. But the motives and adaptations are past recounting. Like all Pompeian pieces of furniture, even the most ordinary, they display the hand of the artist at work, for whose exercise nothing too common was or mean. One type shows the spike and hook attachment of the northern crusie, a far-away touch of natural kinship.

Kitchen utensils have their own special interest, but it may suffice here to avoid a catalogue and say that they conform to the leading categories. In the frying-

pans the cooking would be done with oil. Moulds are characteristic ; the Romans liked their served food to seem other than what it really was, to look fish, or fowl, or sucking-pig ;[1] their cakes to bear some relief, or turn out egg-shaped, or as shells. Another prevalent article was the chafing-dish, which takes many shapes ; by means of an internal insertion or an open brazier foundation liquids were heated and kept hot, to be run off at the tap on one side ; thus water was kept ready for the warm drinks made with wine. Handles are fitted for the conveyance of this utensil to where it was wanted : as when a Pompeian lady would treat her visitors to their equivalent for afternoon tea. The brazier variety would also serve to warm the room ; there are no fireplaces, and internal heating was done by portable charcoal burners, as is still largely the fashion in southern Italy.

All that has been said applies to the town house, but there was another class, the villa or suburban dwelling, of which examples occur outside the Herculaneum Gate. Here one was examined and covered up again which, on the very thinnest grounds, has been claimed as the villa of Cicero ; the paintings and mosaics would have done Cicero credit, but only a pious anxiety could accept the identification. Farther down the road the equally lightly named Villa of Diomede offers an excellent example of its style. Approached by steps up to a narrow porch, it opened, as the mode was in

[1] Trimalchio recounts the wonders which his jewel of a cook could do in this way with mere pork.—PETRONIUS.

villas, upon a peristyle surrounded by many rooms and having in one corner a complete bathing establishment. All this is on the upper level, but the dip of the ground gives the back part a peculiar advantage; it is on a lower stage and is mainly a garden of large size surrounded by a colonnade on square pillars. The upper division terminated in a colonnade and a broad terrace, which gave a fine view of land and sea on that side; underneath were rooms. The enclosure was planted with trees, and had a deep fish-pond with a fountain in the centre and a raised platform beyond, where six columns supported a trellis of vines and formed an arbour. Under the three sides of the colonnade run long cellars, lighted by small openings from the garden, in which many amphorae were found, and in which was enacted the most wholesale and painful of all the tragedies that marked the close of Pompeian life. Twenty people, including two fair-haired children, had taken refuge in these dismal corridors with a little food and water, and all perished speedily and miserably. They would seem to have been mostly women; unfortunately the practice of taking casts from the hollows had not been introduced when this place was opened. One at least was discernible as a beautiful young girl, of whom a fragmentary impression has been secured, who had folded her skirt of most delicate fabric round her head to ward off the caresses of warm, choking dust. Her gold earrings, elaborate necklace, rings, and cornucopia bracelets were in place. Probably it was her little vials

for perfumes and cosmetics that were found in the recess of the round room with the three great windows looking out on the upper side garden : she was no doubt the daughter of the proprieter. He, with his house key and a considerable sum of money, accompanied by a slave, met his death at the lower garden gate ; the rest of the men of the household are accounted for by the fourteen skeletons found in other parts with those of a dog and a goat. The home of the family became its grave.

But whether villa or town house, the architectural idea is the same ; we look out outwards, the Pompeian looked out inwards : his lower windows were little better than ventilators, his upper, with their sliding shutters, opened as if from the back. The vision of the interior, with doors and curtains retired, would disclose the spacious shaded atrium, where the white impluvium, its fountain, and its marble accessories are thrown into dazzling relief by the sunshine shape from the aperture above in contrast with the dark colour of the mosaic floor ; in summer there is the restful detail of potted flowers by the curb or in the clear interior of the tablinum. Round the sides, doors topped by a grating, or rich portières, distinguish the lines of rooms ; the stair to the upper apartments may assert itself by a splash of fainter light on the floor ; there are some square seats with moulded legs, and delicately grained and carved tables of polished wood ; doubtless, too, rich rugs on the floor from the factories at Alexandria, though only a few fragments in a room of

the Villa of Diomede substantiate the suggestion ; wall spaces in rich colour and delicate patterns, enclosing pictures large and small, rise to a handsomely panelled or coffered ceiling. The broad white pilasters of the tablinum are a frame to the brilliantly lighted scene beyond—a dainty maze of leaf and blossom, of fancies and whimsicalities in bronze and marble, of priestly columns and the sparkle and rise and fall of murmuring water. Farther to the rear, in many houses, the wide opening of the exedra, a second tablinum, may end the vista, or there may be only the painted greenery of a wall, or, more rarely, an artificial cascade or a shrine, in which cases the peristyle ends at the sides. Against the sunny background passes the figure of a lady of the household. She is dressed in a low-cut tunic of blue, saffron-yellow, or carnation, of a stuff fine almost to transparency, perhaps of silk, which reaches to her white slippers, where the border is of rich brocade. Over this a loose, white woollen mantle is looped up by a daintily carved cameo or gold brooch on the shoulder or breast. The arms, bare to the elbow, are encircled by bracelets of serpent shape or of figured gold wire, and she wears a necklace of small vine leaves in beaten gold. The round, full, languorous face shows the art of powder and cosmetics ; the hair is elaborately curled or waved and bound up in a knot behind, or contained in a net of gold wire. A married lady going out will wear a veil, which falls from a tiara set with pearls or garnets. But the varieties of feminine ornament do not alter with the ages, and it is

just in these pleasurable articles that Pompeian art is most effective and tasteful.

Such dwellings and adornments were, of course, the privileges of the rich, but men of moderate means could usually manage some sort of atrium and, at least, a little bit of garden, even if only in troughs of masonry, and a short colonnade. Beyond these general ideas there is no stopping short of a wilderness of detail.

Note.—Petronius, frequently cited, is an author of the time of Nero, and so contemporary (died A.D. 66), whose work, in fragments, is unique, inasmuch as it consists of a sort of novel of adventure located in the Greek towns and districts of Campania. Incidents and atmosphere are generally of the worst type, as we might expect from one of his reputation. Trimalchio is a *nouveau riche*.

CHAPTER IV

THE STONES OF POMPEII: DECORATION AND ART

I

THE glory that was Greece was a glory of solid marble; the grandeur that was Rome overlay a core of adamantine concrete; Pompeii in the main is a rubble building cased in hard polished stucco. Nevertheless, the nature of the material chiefly in use and the method of construction enable us to plot out the structural history of the city in four great periods. The earliest material is the coarse-grained yellowish limestone from the banks of the old Sarno. It was close at hand, easy to cut, and hardened by exposure. A front wall was built in solid blocks, an interior wall of the limestone rubble bonded by means of an irregular framework of upright and horizontal masses; while the interspaces were filled in with clay. The best example of this class is the House of the Surgeon, the oldest in Pompeii, but limestone atriums, hidden under later adaptations, have been exposed in various quarters, showing that even at that early time the city covered

pretty much the same extent as it does now, a time the upper limit of which we cannot fix, but which comes down to 200 B.C., that is, the beginning of local autonomy in subjection to Rome.

It was probably the improvement of the highways and the freer communication between the towns which followed on this federation that made possible the fuller use of the hard, close-grained tufa or tuff, a stone composed of dark-grey volcanic ash compacted in water, which had to be brought from the neighbourhood of Nocera. Earlier the expense of transport had confined this serviceable material to such public works as the columns of the Greek Temple and part of the city wall. It was, however, very brittle, so that the Sarno limestone had to be retained, till the beds gave out, for corners and the chiselling of capitals. Thus, again, the capitals of the tufa columns of the Temple are of limestone, the difference of material being concealed by stucco.

But the greatest revolution in building was brought about by the introduction of lime-mortar as a binding stuff, an introduction through the Greek cities from the Carthaginians. Work was now vastly simplified; and it further became possible to utilise the fundamental lava, impracticable in the earlier massive style, but supplying a cheap and excellent rubble. Hence lava preponderates in all the earlier rubble-building, and, thereafter, is always more or less in use. But the squared ashlar façade still holds the field, though, save at exposed corners, tufa blocks supplant the limestone; stucco is, as yet, confined to the internal decoration of

HOUSE OF THE VETTII

Corner of *atrium* and *peristyle* in the House of the Vettii (p. 59). There is no *tablinum*. Behind the corner of the *impluvium* is the left *ala* (p. 42) which was used as a wardrobe. The wall decorations are in the Fourth or Intricate Style.

houses. On this account the period is known as the Tufa Period, and covers the time of semi-independence from about 200 B.C. to the arrival of the Roman colony in 80 B.C. It is characterised by a great building activity; by a class of house, at the best, lofty and ample in its proportions, such as those of the Faun, Sallust, and Pansa; by the appropriation of free ground around them for shops, and the regular marshalling of the streets, now being paved with lava blocks; and by the erection of such handsome edifices as the Temples of Apollo and Jupiter, the large Theatre, the Stabian Baths, the Palaestra, etc. All this implies a time of great prosperity; but in the feeling for the spacious and grandiose, and a strained simplicity of magnificence, we see the dominance of Hellenistic influence and example.

The final modification is initiated by the Roman colony. The Romans were building in concrete faced with pyramidal bricks having a roughly rectangular outer face. Laid on an edge these gave the wall an appearance suggesting network—*quasi-reticulate* facing. By the middle of the first century B.C. this method was brought to perfection, and the carefully squared faces brought close together on diagonal lines exhibited a complete diamond arrangement, a *reticulate* or network wall. This was then covered with stucco, and Pompeii blossomed out into bright colourings. But brick was, locally, too expensive a stuff, and lava was soon found to be too hard for dressing; hence the reticulate work is done in tufa. Concrete, too, probably on grounds of

expense, never got a footing in Pompeii. On the whole, indeed, there is not much of this Roman construction ; it found little scope in an already well-built city. Corners and arches, too, were done in tufa, shaped like the flat right-angled bricks of Rome; sometimes, as in the Gate of Herculaneum, layers of brick and tufa alternate, giving a "mixed work" (*opus mixtum*). Ashlar had quite gone out. The valuable marble is not earlier than the close of the first century B.C., when it is used in slabs as a veneer on the outside of public buildings; it makes a first appearance on the Temple of Fortune about 3 B.C. A cheaper substitute was a white limestone, wrongly called travertine, much in demand for the margins of impluviums, which was also being used to pave the Forum.

Last period of all is that following on the ruin of the earthquake in A.D. 63, but it was a time of feverish patching and renewal in all styles ; the city had to be made habitable again as fast as possible, and stucco would cover up all deficiencies. Result, a considerable amount of jerry-building, which gives a false impression to a superficial inspection. The one great erection of this time is the Central Baths, which, with its careful reticulate work and brick-shaped tufa jambs and pilasters, should have developed into something noteworthy had it ever been finished. But the eruption intervened ; the unfinished walls and columns stand as the masons left them, never to return, and the last load of stone blocks still lies on the sidewalk.

The Coat of many Colours

II

That we can finger the bodily framework of Pompeii with so much assurance is due to its broken and unkempt condition ; in its perfection the eye saw only the smooth, unbroken skin of stucco, outside, for by far the greater extent, and inside invariably, glowing in some strong colour, and panelled in tracery, simple or complex. Incapable of renewal, and bleaching under the unshadowed light, the bright tints quickly fade, while the plaster peels away, yet scarce a truncated wall or a pillar stump but shows something of the coat of many colours in which the city had been wrapped. A deep red of various shades most strongly asserts itself in rivalry with a more delicate yellow or green, but, inside, a Pompeian decorator could give a gaiety to sheer black and fill a white ground with interest. And many such surfaces have survived in a condition good enough for understanding and judgment.

Therefore, as in the case of building technique, we are able to distinguish different styles of interior wall decoration, and allot them to their particular time and school. We start with the Tufa Period, which in this, as in other things, is a homogeneous unit of evolution. The heavily stuccoed wall, as in the Houses of Sallust and the Faun, is treated in three horizontal divisions, the lowest of which, from the floor upwards, is generally stained yellow, recalling the ancient wainscoting of the Greek palace. The middle portion is bevelled into imitation blocks, lessening in size with the height of

the wall, and coloured in black, yellow, red, and green, or variegated, so as to give the effect of a wall incrusted with slabs of foreign marble or hard, rare stone. A white cornice with Ionic dentils on a blue or brown base caps this division, above which the wall rises in its natural colour. The inference is clear: the variety of materials suggests the familiar inter-communication among the Eastern Mediterranean lands which followed the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the sumptuousness of the real thing, of which these are but plaster imitations, the gorgeous furnishings of the palaces raised by his Hellenistic successors in their several kingdoms in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Work of an analogous character at Pergamon and Delos has made this much certain. Wealth and Oriental contacts had developed in these Greek courts a taste for grandeur and imposing state that expressed itself in great palaces, broad straight streets, colonnades, and imposing monuments; all of which Pompeii in its second-hand fashion absorbed and imitated. Hellenic art of the classic type had been public and municipal; Hellenistic art entered the private house and grandly submerged its ancient bareness and simplicity. Private Rome was still shabby, when Pompeian palaces shone in a mock splendour.

The decoration of this period is thus classed as the Incrustation Style. Obviously it had no place for pictures on the walls. Instead we have pictorial floor mosaics as particular embellishments of a plain surface in some simple, regular arrangement of lines, lozenges,

frets, or meanders in black slate and white cubes, or in white upon black. More complex designs, worked in pieces of coloured marble, may distinguish thresholds, the margins of impluviums, or the centre of rooms—flowers, garlands, masks, ribbons, or interworked geometrical patterns. The House of the Faun, as we might expect from the dwelling of so rich a man, is specially distinguished by its mosaics. One of the most beautiful of all examples set off the floor of a triclinium, the Genius of autumn as a vine-crowned youth with wings bestriding a panther, within a border of flowers and fruits and tragic masks. A cat killing a quail or partridge appears in the right *ala*, but there is no evidence that the cat was a house pet in Pompeii; in Egypt, however, it had long been domesticated, and so here we have an Egyptian subject, as the accompanying lotus flowers further indicate. Thoroughly Egyptian is the threshold of the exedra, at the back of the peristyle, lying between the tall wine-red pilasters. It presents a straggling assemblage of many exotic creatures—the sacred ibis, the crocodile, with the lotus lilies of the Nile, ducks, a hippopotamus, and a cobra fighting a mongoose—an unconscious allegory of the far-thrown frontiers of Hellenistic art. The floor of this room furnished the magnificent mosaic of the Battle of Issus, Alexander's great victory over Darius. Part of the left side is destroyed, but above the gap rises the bare head of the triumphant Macedonian on his steed; with his long spear he has transfixed the Persian general, whose horse is down by the head; while on the right Darius in his

chariot, looking back with anguished regret, stretches towards the doomed man an unavailing arm. But his forces are in retreat, and the Greeks are pressing on over the rocky ground, where lie fallen warriors and discarded weapons. The work, as a whole, is a well-massed and balanced composition, that fairly realises local colour in the decorative arrangement of black and white, yellow, blue, green, and red. Possibly the mosaic is a copy, in a less tractable medium, of a picture; as other fragments show, the work was a famous one, and its leading features may even be traced as conventions in battle illustrations of the late Middle Ages.[1]

This wonderful mosaic was apparently the work of an Alexandrian artist, but two examples from the Villa of Cicero, showing scenes from comedy, bear the signature of Dioscorides of Samos. Pompeii might manage the execution of simple surfaces, but artists had to be imported. Another type is traceable, in idea at least, where the floor of a triclinium seems covered with bones and scraps that are the careless debris of a feast, about which the ancients were most untidy; according to Pliny, the celebrated Sosus did mosaic work in this style at Pergamon. A recently unearthed house has furnished an exquisite portrait bust of a young woman, eight by seven inches, on a yellow ground with a black border. The various pillars and fountains, incrusted with garish patterns in glass and enamel, possibly show the transmission of Persian or Indian taste.

[1] See article on this mosaic by Kemke in *Jahrbuch des kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 1901, pp. 70-73.

Hellenistic Columns

In other directions, too, Hellenistic art, embarked upon a wider, more wealthy and individualistic world, strained at the old classic conventions and restraints. Columns and capitals in Pompeii show it fumbling for freer expression in more homely surroundings. The Pompeian Tufa Doric looks quite Greek, but the columns have lengthened, their swell is reduced, the capitals project less ; it loses dignity and fitness without attaining grace. The volutes of the Ionic capital are restrained, it may well be owing to the brittleness of the tufa stone. The shapely, curving clusters of acanthus leaves that spread out in the Corinthian capital brought this order into great vogue, and it is characteristic of the pilasters flanking doorways. But Corinthian capitals set off with small busts is an Eastern whim. Other evidence of this artistic restlessness is the interchange of the overlying architraves, the continuous Ionic frieze being thus made often to rest upon Doric columns. As in the older colonnade of the Forum, columns had at first to be spanned with wooden beams, upon which the upper structure rested, for the proper marble was not available and tufa was unsafe over an unsupported space. There was no attempt to disguise this fact ; in the painted architecture of the House of the Faun it is rather emphasised by a conventional yellow stripe representing timber. As in Greece, indeed, colour was freely used to embellish decorative details and relieve the glaring white ; and capitals were picked out in yellow, red and blue, as also were friezes and probably other parts. Still, in the Tufa Period, white on the whole

prevailed, in keeping with its general character of a somewhat tenuous and conscious simplicity.

Of the first wall decoration it may be said that it was all within the scope of the ordinary craftsman ; the worker in stucco might also apply the different washes of colour, though in the variegated marbles a curious running of the lines is not infrequently made to suggest a figure or some natural object—an accentuation of natural oddities like pictures in the fire. But all subsequent styles demand the painter as artist. In this field a revolution had occurred. The slow, expensive, and limited processes of ancient times had made the art of the painter a luxury ; now, by the invention of fresco painting in limed colours upon a smooth plaster surface, the Egyptians had found what Petronius in the time of Nero calls "a short cut to art" (*artis compendiaria*), that is, a rapid and comparatively cheap process—art for the million. The bevelled surfaces sink to the flat and merge in great panels of a uniform colour, red, yellow, black, or blue. The horizontal divisions of the wall are retained, but there is now a, generally triple, vertical division, effected by means of pillars painted in strong relief standing upon separate pedestals or a continuous base similarly suggested, while the top division comes to serve as a field for a yet more distant plane of perspective, in which receding colonnades show themselves in their upper parts, or it becomes a corniced shelf supporting ornamental objects. Next, the central panel disengages itself as a small pedimented porch, which serves as a frame for a picture, and so enters the

DECORATIVE PANEL PICTURE

A panel from the House of the Vettii; a Cupid drives a chariot drawn by dolphins (p. 94).

picture as a decorative element, large or small. The architecture is faithfully real in suggestion, whence the name of the Architectural Style ; relief and perspective are executed in careful conformity with rule ; everything is correctly modelled in artificial lighting ; the artist paints what he knows, not what he sees ; and the result is a strikingly realistic imitation of architectural subjects, which is seen at its best in the few Roman examples. It is a style calculated to arouse curiosity on a first confrontation, but terribly trying to live with.

The middle of the first century brings to view a strong reaction against this Hellenistic rigidity. At Alexandria the artists had gone to the old Egyptian walls for a new inspiration, and we have something analogous to the Chinese and Japanese diversions of our own day. The determining divisions of the surface remain ; but, as on the Egyptian walls, relief is absent or but weakly suggested ; the style is easily recognisable by its white or light-coloured stripes and slender pillars, while details are wholly or in suggestion Egyptian ; the colours, as is proper to line effects, are in subdued shades. The dado goes into modest retirement in black or purplish brown ; the side panels show a preference for the yellowish Pompeian red, and present only a small central subject, such as a winged Cupid; the main picture is framed in light rectangular borders ; the uppermost division is filled with an orderly but unbalanced succession of silhouetted façades, candelabra-like uprights with hanging chains and ornaments, and other such airy trifles. It is all very dainty and charming in

detail, and in its flatness truer than its predecessor to the idea of mural decoration, but it is insipid in general effect. This, the third, is classed as the Ornate or Egyptian Style.

It is the fourth or Intricate Style which has come to be known as specifically Pompeian, though its life there was short; but, coinciding with the reconstruction after the earthquake, it made up for this in the space available for new embellishment. The name suggests the difficulty of description; it is a style intricate and various beyond any general account, and as difficult to realise in words, even in a single example, as it is impossible to reproduce. The fluency of idea and execution is extraordinary, though frequently cheap and flashy; the artist invented as he went on, scattering lavish details of bird, or beast, or leaf, or tendril; pausing in little panels filled with sketchy landscapes or hunting or wild-beast scenes, or, at the base, groups of still life, or grotesque designs, or rectangular and circular insets of richly veined painted marbles. The general scheme of the wall usually follows the Architectural Style, but the main and upper divisions tend to merge in a fantastic scaffolding. And the difference is vast. The architecture is utterly unreal; treated as a purely decorative expression it revolts the professional eye of Vitruvius; he had never seen, nor could see, such slim and overweighted fabrics, nor could any one else, and that was enough for him. With such a test the artist is not concerned. He piled up his fairy structures and inconceivable colonnades and balconies, opened

doors on purposeless passages flooded with light, enlivened them with human or animal figures or statues, that plainly would try severely their stability, set birds flying in space or perched them on the leaves of framing stalks or any lonely curl of ornament. Actual pictures shrink in size; on the panels float out pairs of dancing figures or one only—a bacchante, a satyr, a nymph, a centaur, a cupid, or combinations of these. There is neither flatness nor hard cylindrical modelling. For the Western artist, emancipating himself from the spent academic Hellenism, had won a fuller freedom for his art. Led to a franker study of the great original, he had come to see that Nature was no pedantic modeller, but a dealer in artful juxtapositions of shades and tones, where light and shadow do not enclose, but play freely upon surface and form. He does not laboriously demonstrate his relief; he presents it in instinctive illusion, what we now call impressionism, with no effort for deceptive detachment from the background. He can thus revel in brilliance and variety of colour; even perspective is not merely geometrical but also a colour scheme. The style spends itself in a restless and soaring extravagance; but when at its best, as in the Macellum or the House of the Vettii, it surprises by the balance, invention, and harmonious colouring of its parts. It was this style which, in its Roman productions, profoundly influenced the artists of the Renaissance, not always to the best results. For Pompeii we must always remember the dim little rooms that were thus gaily recommended and made cheerful.

Houses were not necessarily decorated all in one style; the first covers the most important rooms in the House of the Faun, which was old, but the others are in the Ornate and Intricate. The House of the Vettii, being late, is throughout of the Intricate Style. Of ceilings there are, naturally, only scanty remains. The House of the Golden Cupids has been fortunate in this respect, and has given enough to make restoration possible. They are laid out in square white stucco panels with borders of red, or blue, or green; within these are various simple geometrical designs modelled in relief, and bands of colour with decorative subjects. Sometimes the ceiling was curved like an alcove, giving a greater height, since the later houses tended to be low. Poorer dwellings make a poorer show, and we may have only a plain stone pattern in white or yellow and red, or a zinc-like effect in shaded diagonal stripes of bluish grey. It ill becomes a wall-paper age to carp; such interiors were cleaner and healthier and of sounder principle than our common layers of pasted trumpery.

It is of an eager, light-hearted life that we read on the last walls of Pompeii. The first and second styles speak of a monumental pomp, a heaviness and conservatism of thought, a traditional, almost wooden, accuracy of execution. But with the Ornate and Intricate all this is changed; there is a lightening of spirit, a delicacy of touch, a fertility of conception, a novelty of theme—the blossoming of a new life, for whose circumstances we must turn to written history. The trim tenuity and the interwrought mouldings of

metal work, the daintiness of conventionalised foliage, arabesque and tendril, the half-humorous aspirations of constructional fancy, supplant the old, insistent naturalism ; glimpses of airy vistas beyond lead out of the containing walls ; bold colours in a shimmer of light challenge the senses : gaiety of mind and the easy, sure, rapid hand of the exuberant artist soaring in poised flights of graceful imagining, or sinking in sheer gluttony of colour and line or in sentimental crudity—so we interpret these half-defaced records of a life and art for ever gone from us, yet no more alien in their weakness and triviality than in their strength and delight. The language in which they are written is eternal, and of all understood.

In other forms of decoration we see a similar inclination towards more complex designs and a freer use of colour, particularly in the capitals of columns and pilasters. Here, indeed, as we have noted, a reaction against strict Greek rules was early manifest, helped, moreover, by the use of other material than marble, which entered Pompeian artistic life only with the Empire and thus played relatively a small part. Workable stuff like stucco in itself hints at a freer use of details ; and it must also be considered that severe patterns becoming to imposing and reverend exteriors are not appropriate to more homely places. Hence the indulgence of the Pompeian worker in the elaboration of capitals that preserve but the merest outline of classic models, Doric dressed in Ionic details, Ionic lost in Corinthian foliage, and Corinthian with foliage other than the acanthus, or

mere arabesques. So, too, the entablature reduces its projecting surfaces to a flat strip with a rolling pattern of vine stalks in relief or alternations of figures and conventional designs. All are made the basis for a free use of colour, particularly the favourite red, blue, and yellow, and the lower thirds of columns also receive a coating of bright yellow or red. The reconstructed public edifices, such as the Temples of Apollo and Isis, have the columns of their courts treated in the same way, which had become the mode for all purposes—another indication of that easier relationship to Divine things which was a note of the age and of the reaction against tradition. In the fulness of time a more vital departure from classic forms was stigmatised as Gothic; the Pompeian departure is fantastic in so far as it was still determined by the ancient moulds.

III

The Pompeian pictures are a large subject even in mass, since they now number well over three thousand examples, and the supply is still probably far from being exhausted; large, too, in so far as they are closely bound up with the whole subject of classic painting, for whose character we must otherwise trust entirely to literary references. The result is a lengthy controversy upon every aspect and ingredient. One general principle must qualify all statements; the pictures, with insignificant exceptions, were integral parts of the total decoration of the wall, even to the extent that

their lighting was in relation to that which, by the structure of the room, would fall on them from outside. Hence to view a Pompeian picture on the staid wall of a museum is to see it even more divorced from its proper surroundings than an altar-piece in an unemotional picture gallery. We must also remember the limitations of colour and medium to which the ancient artist was subject. Though these paintings are usually spoken of as frescoes they are not such in the modern sense ; they are painted on a prepared plaster surface in colours mixed with lime, so that the roughened surface of the brush-work is usually apparent on a close examination. Vitruvius has explained the process in detail ; successive coats of plaster, each of finer quality than that preceding, were laid upon the wall, the last being a very fine stucco of powdered marble. He prescribes six coats, but the Pompeian workers do not seem, generally, to have exceeded half that number —at most, perhaps, used only four. Each was carefully smoothed and dried before its successor was imposed. The final surface was polished and coloured in the tone of the background, and the painting executed in the method already described. The easel paintings of former times had been done on slabs of marble, in colours mixed with some such medium as fig-sap or yolk of egg, or in encaustic with melted wax. These last are not exemplified at Pompeii ; they were the luxuries of the rich. The newer and cheaper process originated, as we have seen, at Alexandria, and was that "short cut to high art" which Petronius laments as

responsible for the degradation of painting under the Empire, a criticism which is unsparingly uttered by other writers, such as Pliny. Their references are all tuned to one key; painting was a dead art in all its highest forms. Yet it was never more extensive. We may judge that its popularity and its being brought within the range of all classes had attached to the higher exponents a multitude of clever copyists or mediocrities. But such lamentations are common in all ages: they are the wail of the connoisseur.

The bulk of the Pompeian paintings are of the periods distinguished by the Ornate and Intricate Styles of decoration, and they are most numerous in the latter, where they serve as so many insertions in the general scheme. The facility of the artist was such as to enable him to throw in a small picture to fill any appropriate space, most often landscapes in a few simple colours, not infrequently, too, executed in a sketchy fashion which passes into something resembling modern impression in the avoidance of definite outline and reliance upon masses of colour. The larger landscapes in main panels belong mostly to the walls of the third style. Such scenes are conventional and stiff in type, not unlike the "classic" ambitions of our eighteenth-century work; never entirely a study for its own sake; mere nature must be made appreciable by shrines or temples, or clusters of pillared buildings overlooking a harbour or by the seashore. Landscape, indeed, never quite escaped from the idea of background, or, at least, from that of trim arrangement and human associations. The

Brogi, Photo.

THE DANCING FAUN OR SATYR

See p. 98.

Landscape

Hellenistic peoples and the Romans loved the intermixture of the pleasures of town and country life, which were most agreeably conjoined in the villa type of residence. Hence the delight in these little suggestive scenes, and the reputation, under the early Empire, of the artist Ludius, who turned out such subjects in great quantity at a cheap rate—rivers, mountains, harbours, flocks of sheep, or other like things. Hence, in another way, the craving for a freer outlook, apparent in the illusions of space and air provided by the painted architectural perspectives. In these the problems of perspective are, as easier, more successfully handled than in landscape work, where the horizon tends to climb up the back of the picture. The ground thus provided was, in many cases, occupied with different stages of the same story like certain old-fashioned ways of presenting a moral tale.[1] It was a mode that passed into early Christian art. One of the many versions of the Actaeon fable gives us the goddess Diana in an artificial canopied bath on the upper part of the picture, preparing to bathe in a rocky stream at the bottom, and urging on her dogs in the middle, while to the right the prying Actaeon is already being attacked. A recent painting shows us the Rhea Sylvia legend of Romulus and Remus enacted, in a somewhat obscure fashion, on one mountain-side, beginning near the top crowned with a small temple, and winding up by a pool at the foot. A garden wall sometimes affords an excellent field for free landscape delineation, as on that of Sallust,

[1] Or look at the frontispiece to *Travels with a Donkey*.

or of Fronto where it takes the form of hunting scenes among animals—lions and leopards pursuing deer and cattle, with bears and snakes and a tiger. Egyptian landscapes are common, as we might expect, considering whence many of the artists must have come. But the general spirit is one of pleasing or appropriate setting, or, where more detached, of a sentimental quality in keeping with the pervading bias of later Hellenistic culture.

This devotion to charm, to sentiment and a gentle stimulus of the sympathies, is the aesthetic basis of the great majority of the paintings, the subjects of which are drawn from mythology or the epic cycles. But it is shallow, cynical, and light-hearted Alexandria that is the guide. Not for such the philosophically significant or symbolic aspects of the ancient theology—no Zeus and Prometheus, no conflict of ruling passions as in the story of Hippolytus, not so much Homer himself as his amplifiers and continuators. Art and literature were no longer, as in the classic age, matters of religion and the State. Romantic individualism had come in with private patronage, and those very features of mythology which serious thought had deprecated and stumbled at overshadowed all else. So many new culture contacts had generated a frolic and patronising scepticism, as it did, also, a capriciousness of religious belief. And the gods of the artist are not the gods of the priest: they must be human and picturesque. Hence it is Jupiter-Zeus in his gentler relations that we meet, associated with Ganymede, Danae, Io, Leda—

Or sweet Europa's mantle blew unclasped,
From off her shoulder backward borne ;
From one hand drooped a crocus ; one hand grasp'd
The mild bull's golden horn—

just so she appears in the Pompeian palace of art. Apollo pursues Daphne ; Aphrodite and Ares are in the toils of their gallantries ; occasionally the strong Hercules is weak with the weakness of Noah. We might look for Paris and Oenone, Perseus and Andromeda, Pyramus and Thisbe, Hylas and the ravishing nymphs, and all the old undying love-tales in their most delightful phases. Often and in diverse ways the moon-goddess, Selene, draws near to the sleeping Endymion; here he reclines uncomfortably on a rock, his green mantle slipped to his legs, while the divine one, scarcely affected by a blowing garment of blue, distinguished by a rosy nimbus edged with white, approaches on tiptoeing sandals in an attitude of admiration. This comes from one of the newer houses, and on the opposite wall is yet another variant of the so frequent motive of the deserted Ariadne discovered by Bacchus. Picture after picture serves up this lightsome incident which in other times was to attract the brush of Tintoretto, of Titian, and of Turner. It gave a most dramatic opportunity for two general characteristics of Pompeian technique, a southern delight in the nude or semi-nude that reveals a graceful back or a rounded breast, and the strong contrast of the dun-limbed god and the white-skinned maiden.

But apart from specific instances the train of Dionysus-Bacchus figures at large; dancing Bacchantes, fauns, satyrs, singly or in pairs, make a gay procession over the Pompeian walls.

There are several striking pictures from the Trojan cycle, of which an oft-repeated one is the finding of Achilles by Odysseus among the daughters of Lycomede. It, too, gave occasion for the special talents of the Pompeian artist. A well-known example is the dignified group which shows the wrathful warrior sending away Briseis. The perspective is of an early tapestry-like character, but the dramatic intensity of the scene, the emotions of the leading actors, and the careful execution of details, with the harmonious colouring, give it quite a modern cast; in fact the modern will see less in Pompeian pictures that is off his key than in most of those of early Christain art. There is genuine pathos in the fragment, which alone survives, from the tablinum of Caecilius Jucundus where the grey-haired Hecuba looks from her window in maternal anguish on the ransomed body of Hector. Some of these severer subjects may be due, directly or indirectly, to imitation of the old masters, but sentiment, too, must have its tears, and Hellenistic art for all its grace and lightness could sometimes make a brutal appeal to the emotions. One of the walls in the House of the Vettii shows the sons of Dirce tying Antiope to the wild bull she had meant for their mother; in paint on a small field it is scarcely less imaginatively revolting than the huge sculpture group known as the Farnese Bull.

Here a delicate question craves notice. How far do these paintings reflect the lost glories of Greek work? Are they in whole or part commercial copies of masterpieces or standard works reproduced from the pattern-books of travelling craftsmen? After a long term of acquiescence in this conclusion the drift is now along quite a different line. Contemporary critical opinion of painting on the part of literary men is all to the tune of decadence, which probably indicates a difference of technical treatment; literary critics searching for standards of taste are given that way. If what has been said of the great revolution in wall decoration holds good, then it is absurd to believe that during the same century and a half pictorial art remained quite unaffected. On the contrary, there is every evidence that the artist, too, was feeling his way towards a freer handling and more novel effects. But one attempt at identification with an ancient Greek picture has been made with any plausibility, the Iphigenia painting from the House of the Tragic Poet, which has been correlated with the description of a similar work by Timanthes, an artist of about 400 B.C. But Timanthes had five figures; here there are only four. The two central personages hold the semi-nude Iphigenia, the sacrifice for a fair wind, in an awkwardly appealing posture, and they are quite out of scale. The sole real link is the veiled and averted head of the distressed father, the symbolic climax of sorrow, but this may have become a convention; in any case it was the classic attitude of overmastering

grief. Above, Artemis in the clouds is bringing a deer as a substitute for the maiden; here we see distinctly no classic element but a sympathetic softening of the pain of the situation quite in keeping with the contemporary Roman reaction against the frank appeal of Hellenistic emotional realism. No doubt the artist-craftsmen of Pompeii had their stock models as they had their stock subjects, and to this mode of working we may attribute their most obvious deficiencies, the monotony of pose, the doll-like stiffness of gesture, the symmetrical arrangement of figures, and the frequent curious failing of direction and emphasis in the central idea. For invention we must go to the landscapes, the perspective scenes and true colour harmonies in still life; the pictures seek only variety of treatment in the newer medium and technique. But such as it is, it is a living art, struggling with its own problems, not a series of mechanical replicas.

One very charming department of Pompeian work is the place given to Cupids, "the little loves" of Theocritus that flutter through the Greek Alexandrian literature. In Pompeii they are everywhere. They help to bind and weep for the wounded Adonis, they lead Bacchus to Ariadne, they play with the armour and weapons of Mars as he woos Venus, they strain at the quiver and club of Hercules, they bring to Polyphemus—now, like Falstaff, in love—the message from Galatea of which Theocritus makes mention; they ride creatures of all sorts, from horses and tigers to dolphins and crabs and lobsters; they are

gallant fishermen, they fight, they hunt, they play, they are hawked round in cages for sale to wondering damsels : in that delightful band of black on red that runs above the dado in one of the rooms in the House of the Vettii they are engaged in a continuous series of operations, weaving garlands, pressing and selling oil, racing in chariots drawn by antelopes, fashioning and selling gold ornaments, fulling cloth, gathering grapes and pressing out the wine—their lady customers are Psyches ; elsewhere they are punished in childish ways. With their golden hair and blue-white wings they idealise the panorama of contemporary life and furnish a sportive commentary on all its occupations. They are as numerous as in the eighteenth-century pictures of Fragonard or Boucher ; certain panels of Caravaggio, in Hampton Court, less their blackness of tone, might have come from Pompeii. The Cupids are set off by their female counterparts, Psyches with peacock wings —together they are the Pompeian fairies—and by awkward, ugly little pigmies or brownies that ape their betters and fight cranes and fishy monsters with mock-heroic clumsiness. It was on this line that most of the comic and caricature work was done, some of which is not quite suitable for description ; a different interest attaches to the apparent parody of the story of the Judgment of Solomon, where the actors are grotesque, big-headed little figures : one of the soldiers prepares to divide the infant with a cleaver, while the false mother takes hold of her share and the real one on bended knee lifts up her hands in supplication to

the king on his dais. But this may not be the Jewish tale ; there is a version attributed to an Egyptian king which may be the immediate source.[1] Another such painting gives the story of Jonah in one fashion, where a hippopotamus takes the part of the great fish and a pigmy lugs him out of its jaws. The idealisations of the things of daily life fall into the large class of *genre* pictures which figure for us so much of the outer and domestic life of the city and are throughout drawn upon for this purpose. Frequently of inferior artistic quality, they are nevertheless full of vigour and directness, and even the most cursory sketches are welcome lights.

Bright still with the colours of two thousand years ago, especially the master tints, blue, yellow, red, and brown, these pictures in their wonderful settings and harmonies of pale rose and lilac, as we now see them retained in the newer houses, rise from the dust to link together before our eyes three great civilisations of the past, Greece, the Hellenised East, and Rome ; always in some degree scratched or scraped, yet generally in grateful preservation. They are not masterpieces even for their own time, and show frequent lapses in drawing, modelling, and perspective ; but they exemplify a stage from which continuous development might have anticipated by many centuries the triumphs of the Renaissance.

More unqualified must be our appreciation of the

[1] The incident must have been proverbial. In the dispute over Giton, Encolpius says : "Come then, let us divide the youth."—PETRONIUS.

THE LISTENING DIONYSUS

Otherwise known as "Narcissus."—See p. 98.

Brogi, Photo.

better class of sculptures. Here Pompeii, indeed, both in amount and quality, must yield to Herculaneum, which could never suffer the ransacking of its sister victim. There is one delightful specimen of a class well represented in Herculaneum, copies of very early masterpieces, for which a taste had set in at Rome in the time of Augustus. This is the archaic Artemis, perhaps the *Artemis Laphria* ("the forager") of two sculptors of the Gulf of Corinth. The goddess shows the pronounced lineal drapery of early times; she is stepping forward with the left heel raised, a deviation from the stiff, pillar-like pose of primary work; her chin is dimpled with the quaint, homely smile that marks the advance towards lifelike expression; she is not the light-limbed Diana in a short tunic that was the later mode. The marble still bears traces of its original colouring. The close-curled falling hair was golden, the tint given to Artemis by the poets; the head-band was white with gilt rosettes, the eyes and eyebrows black; the upper and lower garments had a reddish-purple stripe painted with white palm-leaves; the band across the breast for the quiver and the thongs of the sandals were also reddish purple. The figure is only slightly over four feet high, but it has a curious appealing charm; and it testifies to the readiness with which Pompeian taste followed that of the metropolis. This relapse upon sophisticated archaism is the parallel movement to the Egyptian resource in wall decoration. Other works in marble show vestiges of colour; the yellow hair and black eyebrows and lashes seem to have

been conventional. Of the bronzes two stand out pre-eminently, the tiny Dancing Faun or Satyr which was found in the atrium of the house to which it has given the name; the material embodiment of rhythmic motion and animal delight: and the so-called Narcissus, more properly the Listening Dionysus or Bacchus, found in a dyer's or a wash house. The rope-like goatskin on the left arm, the ivy-berries in the hair, the high open-work boots—Dionysiac *cothurni*—establish the latter identification; and the softly flowing lines of the body, posed in a listening attitude on the right foot as if momentarily arrested, with the pleased interest of the face, suggest a Praxitilean original, if any. In its youthful delicacy of outline the figure approaches that mystic merging of male and female types in the hermaphrodite Bacchus so frequent in paint upon the walls.

Some portrait busts bear upon a special point. One house yielded a group of Epicurus, Demosthenes, and, perhaps, Callimachus the pedantic Alexandrian. Another bust possibly stands for Virgil. That the contemporary Roman literature was familiar in Pompeii has already been demonstrated, and these finds are additional evidence of a literary interest. Further illustration is given by a recent picture. On round-backed chairs in the foreground sit three grave, listening seniors clothed in white tunics and flowing yellow mantles, one of whom holds a garland. Behind, a young man, also in yellow, stands with open mouth as if reciting. All are crowned with ivy. Here, then, we have a literary competition, which, if it does not apply to Pompeii itself, at least

shows there were some there interested in such things. Nevertheless the fact stands out that not a single manuscript of any writer has been found ; and if the rich Regio VI. has not been fruitful in this respect, can we have any expectations from elsewhere? Manuscripts may well have perished (wood certainly did) or have been removed : it is incredible that libraries of a sort did not exist ; there must have been some origin for the literary quotations found on the walls. Indeed, in his portrait Paquius Proculus rests his chin upon a manuscript roll while his wife holds pen (*stilus*) and tablets. This, of course, was a mere pose in both cases, but it indicates at least an admiration of culture.

[*Note.*—Mr. Stuart Jones takes Petronius's "short cut" to mean the "impressionist" or "illusionist" technique of the paintings, not the medium; and attributes the origin of this technique to Alexandria, not to Rome (*Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1905). Strzygowski, of course, will allow Rome no originality whatsoever.]

CHAPTER V

THE FORUM AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

I

Of all public places first in interest and importance in a Roman city comes the Forum. Beginning as a market-place, some elements of which it always retained, its central characteristic as a place of assemblage attracted to the site temples, civic offices, law-courts, and all forms of communal business; here the great and beneficent were honoured with statue or triumphal arch and popular shows were first exhibited; it was the heart and brain of the city, at Rome of the Empire. With expansion and growing intricacy of life certain functions passed to more convenient centres; marketing flowed into the shops or was relegated to particular enclosures, and the great shows found a proper home in the amphitheatre. What remained was in plan an oblong open court which, after the Greek model, was surrounded with a shady colonnade and was flanked by the principal buildings devoted to public affairs.

The course of development is more easily traceable in the old Forum Romanum than in that of Pompeii,

which was less hampered by conservative tradition. The Forum Romanum had no colonnade; the site and its associations did not admit of such. In type the Forum of Pompeii rather resembles the *fora* of the Emperors, which also drew upon Greek example. Like them it was wholly enclosed, provided with a colonnade, and had a temple, not central, however, but at the upper end, probably an original site. It is in fact an adaptation on later lines. Originally it must have been but the open space or piazza enclosed by four streets, and of comparatively small size; confined apparently to the ground south of Abundance Street, which must have gone straight on to the Marine Gate. Then it was extended to the north to form the usual rectangle, which necessitated the clearance of many blocks of houses and the readjustment of thoroughfares; those from the east were summarily cut short, those on the west had to find a way round. The Temple of Apollo on the west side was thrown out of line, and this deviation had to be disguised by an architectural trick. A general symmetry of plan was the impression sought for, however irregular the details might be in themselves. Not till Julius Caesar took the task in hand was this principle applied to the Forum Romanum; it had been outlived at least in Pompeii quite a hundred years before.

We thus see the Forum as an open oblong of about five hundred feet in length from north to south and rather over one hundred and fifty feet wide—somewhat smaller than Trafalgar Square; off these

dimensions came thirty feet round three sides, which was the span of the roofed colonnade ; it did not cross the north end, where the Temple of Jupiter projected from the line of the street a hundred feet into the area. The first peristyle was the work of Vibius Popidius, of an important early family, to whom the informing inscription gives the title of *quaestor*. This shows that the structure and the remodelling which it implies were prior to the coming of the Sullan colony, when the titles of the magistrates were altered in the Roman constitution. Some portions remain at the south end and manifest the characteristics of the Tufa or Oscan Period. The Doric columns, fluted except on the lower portion, where the sharp edges may have been a nuisance, are shorter and stouter than common and thus more Greek in appearance. The width of the spaces between is due to the demands of spectators in the public shows, but it set a problem to the Tufa architect, who had not the Greek marble at his command and, in distrust of tufa, had to make shift with wooden beams as an architrave. Over these came a slight Doric entablature and an upper story of Ionic columns, the lower roof of the colonnade crossing at the division. Apparently the east side was not thus roofed, for there the double peristyle formed the portico of the public buildings behind. In Roman times the colonnade of Popidius was giving place to a reconstruction in the whitish limestone, the so-called travertine, in which smooth, stumpy pillars of the Roman Doric were replacing the old, with an architrave of fitted blocks. The west side

had almost been finished when the earthquake, artistic in its wrath, threw the abortion down. Only the columns on the south side now stand, but the rough blocks scattered about show that the work was in process when the final stoppage came. The area of the Forum had been or was being paved with the same stuff, but only a few slabs are in place ; possibly, with so much else from the same quarter, others were removed. But all this explains the dismantled and bare condition in which we see the Forum to-day : it was caught on the way to renovation.

So, too, of the score of statues which once crowned the pedestals still in position round the sides not one, equestrian or other, has been recovered. On one only is the veneer of coloured marbles in position ; we can well believe that such valuable material was eagerly sought for. It records that this honour was done to Quintus Sallustius, a duumvir and patron of the colony. Another, we know, had been voted by the town council to Umbricius Scaurus the manufacturer of fish-sauce. It was the Pompeian equivalent for a peerage, except that it necessitated the death of the recipient. Other members of this illustrious body in marble and bronze were selected from the imperial family, and outstanding sites have, by ingenious deductions, been allotted to Augustus, Claudius, Agrippina, and the young Nero. Tiberius probably had an equestrian statue on the arch in line with the front of the Temple of Jupiter ; the bronze fragments of another were found near the larger arch at the back

facing Mercury Street, but the figure resembles neither Caligula nor Nero, though it has been allotted to one or the other. Both arches have been bared to the brickwork facing; only some bits of white marble moulding adhere. Of the statues of illustrious Roman generals whom Augustus set up in his own Forum, and desired to be in others in order that by such examples he and his successors might be judged, only the niches destined for Aeneas and Romulus have been found, and these in the building of Eumachia, near the south-east corner.

Quite clearly there was no passage through the Forum for wheeled vehicles. Steps down or up to the enclosure and, where these might not suffice, blocking stones on end ensured this prohibition. On appropriate occasions, too, even foot-passengers could be excluded; when public entertainments were on, for example. At the entrances from the street there were doors; the side buildings, of course, could be shut up for the day; where there was an inner row of columns serving as a portico to such buildings as the Curia at the south end and the Comitium to its right on Abundance Street, this could further be shut off by a grille. Access to the gallery was given by three stairs, one only of which enters from the inside. This elevation no doubt served as boxes for the more high-class spectators and for such as paid the charge for a place when a charge was made; the pit, under the arcade, was free. Of the character of these performances we have luckily a precise indication in a commendatory inscription

TEMPLE OF JUPITER, JUNO, AND MINERVA IN THE FORUM

See p. 151. Beyond are the municipal offices at the south end of the Forum (p. 111). In the background the ridge rising to Monte Sant' Angelo.

regarding a certain A. Clodius Flaccus, who was three times duumvir, the last occasion being in the year 3 B.C. His first two terms of office he signalised very handsomely with shows of gladiators in the Amphitheatre and others in the Forum. The latter consisted of bull-fights, pugilistic exhibitions between pairs or teams, athletic turns, wild-beast hunts; pleasantly relieved by pantomimic sketches with the renowned Pylades as star, songs, music, and distributions of money. Such was one of the ways in which a Pompeian politician demonstrated his public spirit.

But at all times the scene in the Forum must have been varied and lively, save perhaps in the heat of the day. One good citizen had the forethought to have the walls of a room painted with sketches of what habitually went on there. The columns are joined by festoons, which must have been a common sight as survivals from the frequent fêtes. The pedestals of three equestrian statues support a long narrow board, a temporary erection on which public notices were affixed — official announcements, advertisements of shows, of articles lost or for sale, police warnings, and so forth. We see, too, that though the larger merchandise had been removed from the precincts, small traders and open-air vendors carried on the original practice. A dealer in brazen pots and iron tools has fallen asleep on his seat and is being awakened to serve a pair of purchasers, one of whom is a woman with a basket on her arm. Another is busy bargaining or recommending his wares while his son is squatted on the floor

tinkering at a pot. Near by are shoemakers attending to men and women. There are cloth-merchants, bakers, pastry-cooks, and vegetable-women; a man with a portable oven is dealing out something warm; while others stroll about and talk, or discuss the merits of the wine in the bottles which they hold in their hands. There is the public letter-writer with his stilus at the disposal of clients, still in Naples a slowly dying industry; and, that nothing may be wanting, a blind beggar in rags with his dog. Boys, of course, play hide-and-seek round the columns, but for them there are also sterner pleasantries. The open-air school was no new thing in Pompeii; three diligent scholars are at their work, perhaps conning some of those copy-book maxims which were thought of value in Roman education: "Courage grows by daring, fear by delay; It's a poor opinion that cannot be changed; He who is merciful is always the conqueror." Another is receiving his moral instruction in more tangible form with the birch upon the bare back, one pupil supporting the howling victim upon his shoulders while another holds him by the legs. Probably the schoolmaster is a Greek; if this was usually the case at Rome it must have been still more so at Pompeii. Horace had a flogging (*plagosus*) teacher, and Roman scholars were not always as docile as we see them shown here. The surroundings scarcely suit the Forum itself, but it was, in any case, some portico near by.

To judge from the buildings, the north end of the Forum was the merchants' quarter, the south end

that of legal and municipal business. On either side, beyond the Temple of Jupiter were the markets, of which the chief is in the north-east corner. Its purpose may well have puzzled the early excavators, especially the central twelve-sided base enclosing twelve rectangular pedestals, and their speculations pronounced it a temple of Vesta or of Serapis, as a similar erection at Pozzuoli, on the other side of Naples, is still vulgarly called. It has now settled down to the more ordinary service of a provision market or *Macellum*. "All that related to food," says Varro,[1] speaking of Rome, "being united in one place, a building was erected called the Macellum." And a coin of Nero shows us the central structure complete as a pointed roof resting on pillars, of which only the twelve bases are here present; of this characteristic *tholus* (rotunda) many examples have since been found in Greece and Asia as well as in Italy. But imagine a market whose portico, though continuing the colonnade on that side, was elaborated into Ionic and Corinthian pillars of the new Carrara marble, with seventeen statues on inside pedestals facing towards the building, with statues on marble bases terminating the party-walls of the row of shops which formed its front, with a columned vestibule, each of the two columns having a statue, and with two doors divided by a shrine of marble containing a statue; internally almost a square having a deep colonnade all round and splendidly painted walls in the Fourth Style, with a difference that speaks

[1] M. Terentius Varro, antiquarian writer and contemporary of Cicero.

plainly the purpose of the building. The large central panels are black with a red border, and present alternately a pair of floating figures—a Cupid with a Psyche, a warrior crowned by a Victory, etc.—and a well-executed picture—Penelope failing to recognise the returned Odysseus, the nobly tragic figure of Medea meditating the murder of her children, or Io watched by the sleepless Argo—with intervening architectural vistas in yellow on a white ground, the more distant parts passing into green and red. But above appears a quite new fantasy—fishes of all sizes on tables or in baskets, fowls and other birds alive and dead and trussed for cooking, bottles and glass vessels with wines, olives, and fruits, all very faded, but decipherable and in harmony with the business surroundings. On the south side a row of shops with what must have been storerooms above; on the north, to avoid the southern exposure of perishable goods, they are outside the wall, on the street. At the back, facing the Forum entrance—there was another on the north side and one on the south—are three large rooms, that to the south, as the washing arrangements show, for the sale of fish and flesh, the centre one a chapel of Augustus where, in two of the four niches on the side walls, still stood the statues of his sister Octavia and her son Marcellus so pathetically immortalised by Virgil, while the other may have been for the sacramental banquets of the Augustal priests. In a narrow enclosure were found the skeletons of sheep, sold alive or killed there as wanted, a mode of supply still practised in Naples.

In the south room more pictures symbolising river, sea, and meadow, whence its articles came for sale; at the north entrance Cupids weaving garlands, and, as bakers, crowning the ass which ground the corn and thus took a leading part in the bakers' festivals. Under the central canopy was a shallow tank still bearing abundant traces of fish-scales, so that here the fish were cleansed and scraped after being sold. No fane of Vesta or Serapis this; not for gods, but for little fishes! In the shops on the street were found the charred remains of figs, grapes, plums, chestnuts, lentils, grain, cakes, and loaves of bread; some of the smaller edibles had been contained in glass vessels. The picture is complete, but we have to infuse the religious atmosphere which still hung round the Roman market-place; the slaughter of a beast for food had in it something sacrificial. The place, as we now see it, is a wreck; the paintings have faded, the colonnade has vanished, only fragments of the marble portico have been found; it, too, had suffered from the earthquake though a comparatively new erection, and was being renovated and was afterwards plundered. But how noble a mart! what business community would now adorn such a convenience with irrelevancies of marble columns, more than a score of statues, chapels to Providence, and frescoes from, say, *The Idylls of the King*? Religion and poetry have been banished from the market; art has no place with supply and demand, the modern Lares of the market-place. The Macellum and its overflow on the opposite side, in what was

probably an extension for vegetables or farm produce, must have presented many of the picturesque features of a medieval fair—the meeting of town and country folk, noisy bargaining mingled with jest and expostulation, a jostling of coming and going, the passing of news, the gathering and merriment of friends, the crossing and grouping of brightly coloured smocks under a clear sky in strong sunlight, framed by a picture gallery.

The greater part of the sides of the Forum was occupied by temples, either directly opening on to it, or standing parallel in the case of the Temple of Apollo. These we omit for the present. Where Abundance Street abuts on the Forum stands a large building, in ruins like every other, and for the same reasons. It follows the established rule of a pillared court, the type of public building answering to the pillared house. Its essential features were the portico in front adapted to harmonise with and continue the peristyle of the Forum, an interior colonnade round three sides in two tiers of smooth marble Corinthian columns rising clear to about thirty feet, and a covered corridor behind on the wall with broad openings, like windows, in front. There was the usual equipment of statues on pedestals and in niches under the portico and at the back, where was found that of Eumachia, the priestess, who, as two inscribed slabs tell, restored the portico, colonnade, and corridor in her own name and that of her son, and dedicated them to Concordia Augusta, and Pietas—to Imperial Concord

and Filial Devotion. This suggests the early part of the reign of Tiberius before the concord of the imperial family became seriously disturbed. Erected on a valuable site, it was destined to be a strikingly handsome building, its front veneered with precious marbles, and marbles and paintings embellishing the walls of the interior. In its earlier form it had been dilapidated by the earthquake and its reconstruction was not completed ; a block of marble still showed the white line which was to guide the tool of the worker. As the statue to Eumachia was set up by the fullers in gratitude for her munificence, it is safe to conjecture that this was their Exchange for dealings in wool and cloth ; the openings of the corridor may have been stalls for the display of stuffs ; and the place would also have served as a general meeting-place of the guild. The side wall on the street had a separate entrance, and was panelled and washed white to serve as an *album* for the inscription of public notices.

Across the street was a small enclosure which may have been used as a Comitium or voting hall on a small scale. The southern end of the Forum has three large chambers in one building ; the apses of the two side ones, with other considerations, suggest the public courts of the duumvirs or financial administrators, and the aediles or police magistrates. The centre hall was probably the Council Hall of the decurions. This brings us to the west corner where, back from the Forum, rose the lofty *Basilica*.

A Basilica, as the name shows (*basilike stoa*, "royal

hall "), was of Greek device—in all likelihood, however, as we know it, a Hellenistic outgrowth of the original idea of a covered porch ; but the Romans, finding it serve their own convenience so well, developed it into a form of building peculiarly their own, of which several examples were erected in the Forum Romanum, rather remarkable, as far as can be judged, for their solid and imposing character than for graceful appearance. They were thoroughly useful edifices, in origin really covered extensions of the Forum, where business might still go on when sun or shower made the open space intolerable. This was their essential characteristic in contrast with other public interiors—they were wholly roofed. Naturally they came to specialise in the more limited and individual business of law, and to this effect the upper end was moulded in a round apse with a tribunal for the judges and room for the litigants. This feature, with others presently to be noticed, makes basilicas specially interesting, since they give the original lines of the Christian Church. The rest of the interior would accommodate many interests, from those of mere loitering to, mostly, financial business, thus providing another type of Exchange. The fullers of Pompeii, however, as we have seen, had their own Exchange across the way ; but the inscriptions on the wall indicate clearly its legal purpose and, generally, are of a more literary character than those found elsewhere ; the habitual patrons of these courts were thus men of the higher class. Two are specially helpful : one is the name *Bassilica* scratched on the

THE STABIAN BATHS

South-west corner of the *palaestra* of the Stabian Baths (p. 119), showing part of the colonnade. The original Doric columns of tufa have been covered with stucco, and incised lines have taken the place of the flutings. The capitals have been remodelled. The entablature rested, as is shown, on thick planks, but had also a decoration of stucco reliefs, lightly coloured. The wall beyond is adorned with two stories of architectural designs in the Fourth Style, on which figures in stucco relief stand out from a background of red or blue. The open-air swimming tank is in the farther space behind the great pillar in the foreground, which marks the entrance.

outer face, and the other the name of an individual who has, fortunately, left material for calculating his date, which was 78 B.C.

The Basilica, then, was certainly in existence before the Roman colony, and its tufa work and internal decoration in the late First Style further establish its early erection. So does its form ; it is rather longer in proportion than the more normal type, rather more Greek, that is, though the Romans did not hold to fixed rules in the matter. A short side opened on the Forum with five entrances between columns, up four steps and through a narrow vestibule. Twenty-eight columns, nearly four feet thick and about thirty-three high, round the four sides, divided the interior into a central nave and two side aisles with a space at each end. They were constructed of pentagonal bricks round a central brick core, a unique construction, that worked out in flutings on the outside, which was covered with stucco ; handsome Ionic capitals of stuccoed and painted tufa crowned the whole. The columns are mere stumps, but one capital is on view. Round the bases of these on three sides ran a gutter, and both at the front and the north entrance was a cistern like those of the atriums in the houses. This points to some system of drainage, but whether of roof-drippings or floor-washings it is hard to determine ; the former is suggested by the number of terra-cotta gargoyles which littered the interior. But the roofing is a puzzle. Later, at least, the roof of a basilica rose higher over the nave than over the aisles, and was

independently lighted by a clerestory. In Pompeii the side walls had half-engaged Ionic columns, which, however, are only twenty feet high. If the roof, as it seems, was flat and the architrave of the main columns was so much higher than the tops of those in the sides, then the walls must have risen, and there is evidence that they did, to a corresponding elevation. The discovery of fragments of smaller pillars of various sorts help out this idea; they probably filled open spaces on the side walls alternating with windowed sections. Or the side roofs sloped inwards, draining into the gutter, which would thus be accounted for, while the roof of the nave rose, as usual, above. It is a passionate problem in archaeological reconstruction.

The tribunal, too, is a departure in type; not a platform in an apse, but an elevated room open its whole width and fronted with columns, above which was an upper floor harmonious but slightly different in appearance. The lower level, about five feet high, was the Bench; the court-room was just the necessary space in front. Underneath and half below the ground is a vaulted chamber lighted by two holes and reached by a stairway. It was probably a cellar or storeroom for articles appropriate to the building. Two rooms of a similar character at the upper west end of the Forum, more strongly enclosed and isolated, have been alternatively claimed to be prison-cells or treasuries: such places have much in common. The Basilica was 180 feet long by nearly 80 feet wide, and was paved with a concrete of mortar and pieces of brick and tile beaten

firm and flat. Here lingered and conferred the legal lights and the more speculative financiers of the city, with the police-court of the aediles and the daily work of the council and magistrates in view, while foot-passengers crossed up and down between Marine Street and Abundance Street; the varied notes and hubbub of the Forum came faintly to their ears, and here and there the pungent smoke of sacrifice rose in the clear air. At night latticed doors closed the various entrances; nothing valuable could have been left in such frail keeping.

II

Among the public buildings of Pompeii fall the municipal Baths, which, however, do not and never could approach even in size, far less magnificence, the colossal Thermae of Rome, where mere cleanliness was but ancillary to the varied pleasures of social intercourse and all the advantages of a club. The main building of the Baths of Caracalla would cover as much ground as the Houses of Parliament. Such structures were, of course, much later than our time and the fruit of imperial profusion. What was to be the most splendid of the Pompeian class were the Central Baths, which never got much past a beginning, and in which the novel features were a hot-air sweating-room or Laconicum and the very wide windows of the usual apartments; these, as Seneca explains, were for the full reception of the sunlight, so that the bather might also

be "tanned by the sun, and see in the distance the country and the sea." In contrast with this the other baths are rather gloomy, cavernous places; usually their vaulted rooms are lighted by a single upper window at one end, which, in some cases, had a pane of thick glass set in a bronze frame that turned on a central pivot. Thus in dark days, or if bathing was done in the evening or later than was common, as Juvenal explains was the lot of the more dependent classes, such feeble illumination had to be supplemented by lamps; there are occasional niches for these, and in the baths of the Forum over thirteen hundred lamps were found; in that case, probably, each bather carried one with his towel. The ancient acquiescence in a cool obscurity we have already noticed in speaking of the houses; here, in a way, we are reminded of the elder Scipio, who took his bath at home in a room without a window. But the Roman before the Empire was still reluctantly conservative of ancient customs, and in the elaboration of the bath Pompeii was chronologically in advance of Rome by quite a hundred years. For most of the halls the decoration is most evident on the barrel roofs, consisting of stucco reliefs on a variously coloured ground, round or polygonal, which enclose figures of men or animals, Cupids or trophies set off in bright colours and surrounded by bands of foliage and flowers. On the lunettes are larger independent reliefs,—a seated Hercules, Cupid on his bow, Ganymede carried off by the eagle, Cupids riding upon a dolphin, or young persons weaving garlands. On the whole the effect of

these adornments is that of open-air life in conformity with the character of the place and the later artistic taste. The walls are more simply treated, usually but little space being available; they are in yellow or red panels divided by red or yellow pilasters in slight projection. The floors are, for most, of simple mosaic, in certain cases of glazed red tiles or of grey marble bordered by dark slabs of lava. In two of our public establishments there were separate quarters for women, whose rooms were on a smaller scale and lacked certain of the conveniences more proper to the hardier men folk. The whole was, no doubt, very cosy and pleasing, if somewhat dingy, but there is really no reason for flippantly transferring to the Pompeian resorts the excesses and abuses of the "smart set" of the capital, who were to make the baths at Rome or Baiae or Misenum a by-word for laxity and effeminacy. To the pagan the body was not spiritual death, but a temple served with its daily ritual of wholesome devotion. The fact is that under fouler skies we are not so cleanly, and municipal baths are still confronted with the irrelevant query: Do they pay? The question would have dazed a Pompeian.

Of the three public baths discovered, one, as we have said, was in course of erection. The oldest establishment was the Stabian Baths at the corner of Abundance and Stabian Streets, which covered altogether an area of about one hundred and sixty-four feet square. It was constructed in its original form in the second century B.C. A reconstruction took place early in the

first century, about the time of Sulla, at the expense of two duumvirs, who thus expended the money they were supposed to lay out in public works or entertainments when appointed to office. It was again undergoing repairs; naturally this would have to be done from time to time, and there were always new improvements to be introduced. The Forum Baths are contemporary with the colony, and the expense of their erection was met by the public treasury. They are rather smaller and inferior to the other; public funds had sunk with the Social War. But there were other sources of expenditure. Each establishment required a sundial, and that on the roof of the Stabian Baths was provided out of fines for breach of the rules. In both Baths a large brazier was the gift of Nigidius Vaccula; that in the Forum Baths is in its proper position, with an additional gift of bronze benches. A little cow (*vaccula*) in relief on the former, and hoof-rests and heads of cows on the latter, write plainly the name of the donor.

The general scheme of the Baths is substantially one and the same, whatever minor conveniences there may be. The entrance is to a large exercise court or *palaestra* where games were indulged in, such as a sort of ninepins played with the stone balls that lay on a paved strip in the Stabian Baths. Round the court was a sheltering colonnade, but the enclosed space in the Forum Baths was too small for games; it was probably a garden, and had a low arcade instead of pillars along one side, while on the north were benches, and there was also an open room, arrangements point-

ing to a place for meeting and conversation. An independent Palaestra or public Gymnasium exists elsewhere near the Temple of Isis; and we know that the Romans had not yet grasped the significance of attaching such to the Baths proper; it was a Greek refinement, and so earlier at Pompeii. The Stabian Baths, too, had an open-air swimming-bath, with a suite of rooms serving it; wanting in the Forum Baths, but present in the newest ones. Undressing for the regular course was done in the *apodyterium*, and niches are usually built for the clothes about a man's or a woman's average height. In the Forum Baths these are found only in the *tepidarium* or tepid room, where undressing was sometimes preferred; but where such are absent, though desirable, wooden shelves or lockers were supplied. The tepidarium was usually small; the bathers sat round on the benches, or moved about until warmed sufficiently to face the *caldarium* or hot room after being rubbed with unguents. In the caldarium one sought a copious perspiration, then sat on the seat of the marble-lined bath that occupied one side and contained warm water, and thence passed to the other end, where, usually in a niche, stood the *labrum*, a circular marble basin on a pedestal, in which he bathed his face and hands. Returning to the apodyterium he entered the *frigidarium*, a round room, with semi-circular niches, almost entirely occupied by the marble basin filled with cold water, and lighted only from the top. This was a pretty room, the walls painted to represent a receding garden with trees and flowers and

flying birds, and a blue sky spreading round the conical roof, which shone with golden stars. In this illusory effect, again, the Forum Baths is less effective; but it represents the Roman striving for appropriate spatial effects within a confined area, so fully exampled in the houses. Another sweat might follow the visit to the frigidarium, and, either before or after the cold bath, a scraping with the oiled metal strigil to remove all grease and dirt, a shampooing or rubbing down with a soft material, a thorough drying, and, finally, a sprinkling with perfumed oil to prevent any chance of cold. Women followed a similar routine, except that they had no frigidarium, but might take a cold tub in a portable bath in the apodyterium. The sequence might be altered according to pleasure, and one part or the other omitted. In short, it is the original of our Turkish Bath.

To all this two things are obviously necessary, abundant water and strong, steady heat. Pompeii, as already indicated, had a plentiful water-supply; only the very poorest houses did not have it laid on, and in the House of the Vettii there are sixteen independent jets. The more primitive form of heating was by large braziers, and one still stands in the tepidarium of the Forum Baths. But science had far advanced on this, and there was a central furnace which both furnished the hot water necessary and also the hot air which passed under hollow floors and up the walls through tile flues or a wholly open interior constructed of flat tiles with nippled corners; thus the heat was allowed to circulate

freely under and round, first, the caldarium and then, at a lower temperature, the tepidarium. Such double floors indicate the baths of our Roman forts: they followed the legions. This system was not quite universal; the tepidarium of the Forum Baths, as we have seen, still depended on the brazier. On the other hand, the women's section here was completely equipped with heating apparatus. When both sexes used the one establishment the furnace was placed in an intermediary position so as to serve both equally.

These were public institutions all centrally placed, the Stabian Baths as stated, the Central in Nola Street, and the Forum Baths farther west, just behind the Forum. In addition there were baths for public use which were the property of private persons who, no doubt, charged more than the farthing (*quadrans*) which Horace tells us was the fee at Rome, as they seem to have provided more luxurious surroundings. Two of these are in the quarter south of the Forum. We have record of two others, one connected with a warm spring; and in twelve houses, like those of the Faun and the Silver Wedding, we see complete sets in miniature.

Seneca lived above a bathing establishment and has left a vivid picture of its distractions: the groaning and heavy breathing of the men exercising with weights as dumb-bells; the slapping of the massage attendant on the muscles he is oiling and pounding; the ball-player counting his catches; some one shouting in his bath or splashing into the outside swimming-tank; the cries of

the man whose business it is to remove hairs, or those of his subject; and the varying modulations of the calls of those who sell sweets, wines, pastries or other meats—a medley of sound no doubt familiar also to Pompeian ears.

CHAPTER VI

PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS: THE THEATRES AND AMPHITHEATRE

If we ask for something in Pompeii resembling a public park, we may select the area known from its shape as the Triangular Forum, near the outer edge of which are what remains of the ancient Greek temple. It fills the south-western corner of the city, with the apex of the triangle almost due west. From this point a colonnade of light Doric columns runs towards the northern angle, where, however, it cuts sharply across, opposite the entrance, to continue down the long base. The third side was left open, for here the temple approached the cliff, with which it was nearly parallel in its length. Just outside the long colonnade a broad pathway was marked off the whole way down, which served as a promenade; at its upper end a jet of water played from a column into a marble basin on a single support, and in front was a statue of Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus and patron of the colony—a sort of honorary president—whom we have already seen honoured in the Macellum. At the western corner of the temple two

duumvirs, at their own expense, erected a semicircular stone seat or *schola* with a sundial. It was a thoughtful act, for those who came here to take the air had no other means of knowing the time, and even now many who frequent public parks seem to have the same difficulty. The spot, rising high above the level of the city wall, which terminates at the steep southern corner, afforded the most magnificent view in all Pompeii: beyond was the plain of the Sarno with its busy roads, vineyards, and gardens; thence the eye followed the ridge of Monte S. Angelo rising over the vagrant white villas of Stabiae embowered in greenery, and so out to Capri, and inwards round the graceful sweep of the bay, on which danced the skiffs of the fishermen, or a Roman galley surged up to Misenum. To the north hung the recessed slope of the old Vesuvius, deeply plotting under his vine-crowned brows, but all unsuspected.

The outer wall of the enclosure came down on the west to the brink; the entrance was in the cross piece at the north, which was faced by a graceful portico of tall fluted Ionic columns supporting an appropriate architrave. In front of this wall were brackets for six busts. There were both a wide main and a side doorway, for this piazza served also as an official approach to the theatres which, side by side, filled in the level and the acclivity to the east. High over the Forum rose the upper wall of the Large Theatre, which, with its stage space and the great colonnaded court beyond, extended nearly the whole length of the town side; flanking, again, the Small Theatre in its box-like,

square enclosing wall. Official processions to the play paraded down the Forum and descended to the lower level at the stage by a wide stairway. Ordinary spectators were admitted by the entrances in the wall.

Both theatres are of the ordinary horseshoe shape, and rest their backs on the natural slope, out of which, for the most part, they are hewn. This was a Greek fashion which avoided the necessity for massive substructures such as only Roman engineering could satisfactorily provide, though even the Romans did not disdain so very obvious a convenience. But in its other main features the Large Theatre follows Greek lines. In its original form it dates from the second century B.C., the Tufa Period, and so precedes by about a century the first permanent theatre of Rome, that erected by Pompey in 55 B.C. Theatrical representations were, of course, much older in both cities, but were given in temporary wooden erections, the people standing. Indeed, the second century and the early half of the first B.C. may be called the Golden Age of the acted drama at Rome ; thereafter it degenerates to farce and mere gorgeous show, such as we find bitterly complained of by Cicero and Horace ; its decline curiously coincides with the raising of Pompey's theatre. A hundred years before, Scipio Nasica had roused the Senate against a similar undertaking ; such comfort, he urged, would weaken Roman hardihood, and the work was summarily stopped. Pompeii, as in other cases, had no conservative idealism to hamper its natural inclinations.

Some time after the arrival of the Roman settlers

the building underwent considerable modifications. An inscription tells us that Marcus Holconius Rufus and Marcus Holconius Celer built certain portions, of which one was the corridor under the upper gallery. The Holconii were a very prominent family in the later Roman days of the city, as the Popidii were in its time of independence. There were statues to both these gentlemen in the theatre; and Rufus had further a special memorial to himself on a front seat, though what its character was cannot be said with certainty, and statues in other parts of the city. The raising of an upper story of seats corresponds to a similar feature in the Amphitheatre, and may be the result of one of the efforts which inaugurated the Empire to put a check upon a growing laxity of manners by relegating women spectators to this lofty seclusion. It certainly was the case in the Amphitheatre. Below this gallery the auditorium spreads round in horseshoe shape, the *cavea*; of which the greater part is divided into five wedge-like blocks of twenty rows each, of unbacked seats, the *media cavea*. These were at first lined with tufa, afterwards by the Holconii with marble, but they have only partially been preserved. Those who wished to be comfortable brought cushions; and the marking and numbering of a portion still to be seen shows that places could be reserved. Below a slight parapet wall comes the *ima cavea*, the lowest division—the stalls—which consisted of four marble bays reserved for the official and more select part of the audience, where they could place their chairs; those to whom such an honour was accorded

having the right to a *bisellium*, or chair of double width, a highly valued distinction. This separation of classes was Roman ; it did not affect the Greek theatre, where front rows were reserved only for the priests ; and it was thus probably one of the changes carried out in the reseating of the building. These stalls also encroached upon the *orchestra*, originally the "dancing-place" on the level in which the drama had its birth. In Roman theatres it had been reduced to a semicircle as its importance in the working of the play decreased ; in Pompeii it is rather more, following the Greek model. It was entered from a covered passage on both sides, and above each entrance was a platform (*tribunal*) which afforded a place comparable to a stage-box. One was the right of the magistrate at whose expense the play was produced; the other was probably allotted to the city priestesses. In front of the orchestra rises the narrow stage, about three feet high and nine feet deep to the back wall. This, as a Roman erection, is of brick which would have a marble covering, and, in the ancient fashion, represented the columned front of a palace with niches and pedestals for statues and three doors. In front of this permanent background would be placed the scenery appropriate to the play, sliding, in two portions, inwards from the wings, while the side sets revolved on three-faced prisms. The curtain went down, not up, descending on rods into the long narrow cavity in front. There were other mechanical effects worked from below the stage, but these, so far, have eluded explanation. The stage floor was of wood

and there was a sloping roof; no vestige of either could be expected to survive. Behind is the green-room where the actors dressed, and rehearsed, as we see them in a painting, under the direction of an old, experienced stage-manager. The theatre had many entrances; the five divisions of the *media cavea* were separated by gangways giving access to the places, each leading to a doorway from the upper corridor, and there were other approaches: members of a waiting queue amused themselves by scribbling things upon the walls.

Prominent on the inner summit of the wall are the projecting blocks pierced with holes in which masts were stepped to carry the awnings that a hot sun and a south-west exposure would often make necessary. Combined with this comfort was that of cooling the air by sprays of water scented with saffron; for the mixture a tank was built just outside. Advertisements of performances made a point of these pleasant accessories: "there will be sprays and awnings" (*sparsiones, vela erunt*). The Large Theatre was seated for about five thousand.

In general plan the Small Theatre precisely resembles its neighbour, with adaptations arising from the fact that it was roofed. On this account the round of the *cavea* is somewhat circumscribed by the necessary walls. It was thus an *Odeon* (*Odeum*) or Music Hall in the literal sense, providing entertainments for more special tastes, and was also of Greek origin. Nero was conducting a cantata in the Music Hall at Naples when the great earthquake upset the performance. The

IN THE TRIANGULAR FORUM

Site of the Greek temple (p. 144) in the Triangular Forum. The south-western aspect of the city is here shown (p. 1). To the right are the wall of the Great Theatre and part of the colonnade (p. 132).

roof, of which no trace remains, was probably a conical structure of wood ; the Athenian wits used to speak of the conical head of Pericles as his Odeon. Necessarily it was a rather small affair, having seats for only fifteen hundred of an audience. These are in much better condition than in the neighbouring building where the valuable marble would be sought for ; here they are of tufa, and it is interesting to find them recessed at the back and underfoot so as to give fuller and more accommodating seating capacity. Some terminal figures of kneeling Atlases and griffin claws show the rough, realistic workmanship of the first Roman period. For it is to that time that the Small Theatre belongs, being the gift of the two duumvirs, Gaius Quinctius Valgus and Marcus Porcius, who also constructed the Amphitheatre. The quasi-reticulate work further shows its early date within this limit. What we know of Valgus explains much. Out of the reign of terror and the confiscations under Sulla he had plucked much wealth, especially in land, and was thus able to make himself a very big man in such a place as Pompeii, having, probably, little else to recommend him than his wealth and unscrupulousness, and no gifts to shine in the great political game of the capital. No doubt he supplied the major part of the funds, and the Odeum was probably a special propitiation of the Greek tastes of the older Pompeian population ; Rome itself had no such building till the reign of Domitian half a century later, but in Greece it had long been an established institution. In the Odeum the floor of the orchestra

is laid with richly coloured marbles, the gift of another duumvir.

Of what plays or performances here thrilled the good folk of Pompeii we have scarce a hint. These were municipal theatres, but there was no such thing as a censorship, and in comedy and farce the popular taste could stand a good deal of the plainest speech. Accessories that have been turned up inform us of little. For tickets to all the theatres there were metal checks (*tesserae*), bearing the number of an entrance or section, some with Greek lettering. One is inscribed "of Aeschylus," which may refer to the performance of a play by that dramatist; possibly the earliest dramas were Greek, for Pompeii was a bilingual city and more familiar with that tongue than the "undefiled" Latin of Terence, who, again, drew upon the Greek comedy. In Roman times his work, or, more in keeping with Pompeian sentiment, the breezier productions of Plautus, may have found a place, or the late heavy Latin tragedies stocked with the favourite moral epigrams to which partisans gave political point. But Campania had its own dramatic tradition, the broad farces with the stock characters—the miserly, jealous old man, the braggart, the glutton, the sharper, and so forth, located in the archaic ruined town of Atella.[1] These being

[1] Trimalchio preferred rope-dancing and horn-playing to everything else. The horn-blowers, according to Juvenal, were a feature of the gladiatorial shows in provincial towns. One is prominent in a gladiatorial sketch in Pompeii. Trimalchio probably means these shows by his remark. When he hired a troupe of comedians he insisted that they should confine themselves to Atellan farces.—PETRONIUS.

typical figures, and an open-air theatre not being favourable to good acoustics or easy study of the play of features, distinguishing masks were worn in which the mouth was extraordinarily wide and the features coarsely emphasised : they would frighten the country child in his mother's lap, says Juvenal. Some paintings show scenes from these pieces. The tragic actor had his appropriate mask, and also high-soled boots to indicate his more dignified character. (Such masks are a common feature of decorative details in the houses.) But the burlesque comedies afforded room for topical allusions in which fun was frequently poked at fullers, a powerful guild at Pompeii and no doubt amusingly conscious of the fact. Accompaniments on the oboe-like pipes formed part of the plays, and there were other forms of mental relief. Terence complains how the first representation of one of his comedies was ruined by the eagerness of the men and especially the women to see the rope-dancers who were to follow. Such performers on single and double ropes appear in paintings, women balancing articles, and men made up as satyrs cutting capers in time with music. Musical subjects are not infrequent, especially in paintings of the Second Style, the *cithara*, a harp played like a mandoline, being a favourite instrument ; and in one picture we have a lady tuning two such instruments in unison. From the literary hints we can gather that theatrical performances were usually rather noisy, the women especially being insuppressible, and the audience apt to exhibit an embarrassing readiness of open criticism. No plays at Pompeii and few actors have

left a record. Aetius, we know from inscriptions, was a favourite star, and is asked to come back soon. Sorex was a member of a stock company, and in two buildings his bust has been found : he must have been a credit to the profession. Rotica was an actress.

It was the proper thing for a theatre to have a colonnade attached, in which the spectators could take refuge in the event of rain. This was provided on an ample scale behind the Large Theatre, in a rectangular area surrounded by a verandah of seventy-four Ionic columns, easily accessible from both theatres. A large independent entrance from Stabian Street suggests that it was once also of use as a public promenade. But the alterations made in Roman times, the building of the upper corridor, and the facilities of the colonnade in the Triangular Forum, seem to have made this place superfluous, and led to its being used for another purpose. The entrances were closed to the general public, and two stories of rooms were built round the sides behind the colonnade, cells about twelve feet square entered only from the front and not connected with each other ; while some larger rooms indicate official occupation, and one was clearly a big kitchen. The central room at the south end gives the explanation ; here we see painted on the walls miscellaneous groups of gladiatorial weapons. In ten rooms portions of gladiatorial equipment were found : ornamented greaves and bucklers, helmets, belts, bone scales for a coat of mail, and other such things, but only two or three specimens of offensive weapons—daggers and spear-

heads. One room was equipped with the stocks in which offenders against discipline were confined, a long flat board with uprights pierced for the insertion of an iron bar locked at one end. All these finds point to the presence of gladiators, and the theatre colonnade was thus in all probability turned into a barracks for these who, in the latter days, had, as elsewhere, become a most popular element in Pompeian amusement. That the court was used for their exercises and drill is hinted at by another characteristic. The pillars had once been left in their white stucco; after the reconstruction they were painted red below, yellow above, but in the centre of each of the longer sides two are painted blue, apparently as guides or boundaries in the exercises of the athletes.

The Amphitheatre itself is some distance away to the east, in the corner of the city wall. Its main interest lies not in its size, about 150 yards long by 110 wide —the Colosseum is more than half as big again—nor in its architectural features, for these are very plain, but in the circumstance that it is the oldest edifice of its kind in existence, probably the first, preceding by nearly half a century the earliest stone amphitheatre at Rome. The arcaded outer wall, with its projecting side stairways, is low because the area of the building is mostly dug out of the soil. There is no majesty of enclosure, as in the Colosseum, to relieve the grossness of its associations, but the depth and sweep of the interior recapture our respect. The sunk arena is oval in form like the building as a whole, and is surrounded by a

wall over six feet high, which seems to have been further protected by an iron trellis-work. Its inner face was covered with frescoes, where the lower panels showed scenes from the bloody business to which the building was devoted. At the extremities of the longer axis broad, dipping corridors gave entry to the arena and also to the seats, which are arranged like those of the theatres in three horizontal divisions broken by gangways dividing them into wedge-like sections ; above these a wall pigeon-holed with boxes provided places for the ladies, whom it was thought improper to bring nearer the field of combat. The ledges for the stalls of magistrates and leading persons are confined to the middle divisions of the lowest row. Off the main entrances a vaulted corridor passed round the building, not continuously, however, for it is blocked in the middle of each of the longer sides ; from it stairs led to the places above, and it had two minor entrances from the west. Between these is a close, dark passage, the most sinister feature of all—the "death-gate." The gladiator had marched in with his troupe by the great northern entrance across the crunching sand of the arena to the further end, then in his turn came forth to meet his opponent, years of training and experience showing on the bared muscular limbs and in his nimble, wary movements ; summons and applause burst out from the white-banked seats around, and far up there is a flutter of coloured garments and a craning of cruel, fair necks : now he is in the dash and tension of combat, he has met more than his match, or he is out of form

and slack, so that the sport flags; a puzzling feint, a swift lunge, and he is disabled or down; he raises an appealing hand, but on every side thumbs shoot up in disappointment or contempt; his blood sizzles on the warm sand, and he makes his last exit at the end of a hook, gaffed like a fish, through the only portal now open—that narrow, sunless "gate of death."

The Amphitheatre or, as it was still usually called, the "show" (*spectacula*) was built by the same two worthy gentlemen, Valgus and Porcius, that had built the Small Theatre, and, with its site, presented by them to the city in recognition of the honour done them by their re-election as duumvirs. They hunted popularity and public office together. Other duumvirs or honoured individuals seated the place or furnished exhibitions. A full audience would number about 20,000, and would draw upon the country round as well as the town itself. The surroundings of the building are shown in a rough painting from a house near. It stood in an open space loosely planted with trees, under which, as well as under light canopies, refreshment booths are erected. An awning for one side depends from the two towers on the wall. The occasion is a memorable one. In the year A.D. 59 Livineius Regulus, a Roman ex-senator of shady antecedents, another of the Valgus type, provided an entertainment. Many spectators came from Nuceria, a few miles away, and, whatever the cause, old feud or a difference of expert opinion, a quarrel broke out which ended in a free fight and the driving away of the Nucerians with a tale of wounded and dead. They

made complaint to Nero, who referred the matter to the Senate, and their judgment was that Regulus and the leading offenders should be banished and no gladiatorial shows held for ten years.

Such a sentence must have made the Pompeians wince : " You lost, Pompeians, as well as the Nucerians " is a wall comment on their humiliating victory. Like all Campanians they were hugely devoted to the games, as is graphically attested by many paintings and numerous inscriptions. The pictures on the arena wall have perished as well as the friezes of similar subjects on the tomb of our acquaintance the sauce-maker, Umbricius Scaurus ; but copies were fortunately made. They show us gladiators on horseback and on foot, fighting with buckler and spear, with sword and curved oblong shield, with heavy and light armour, with visored helmet or bare head, according to their class. Nepimus is a *Myrmillo*, whose weapons were a trident and a net, and his regular opponent was a *Threx* or Thracian in heavy armour, using a small buckler and a short sword. Nepimus has a record of five successful fights ; his opponent of six. Three times wounded the Thracian begs mercy, but is refused ; you can't easily kill a man with a trident, so a comrade does the deed, the victim himself assisting in the proper sporting spirit. Death might end the combat incontinently, as another group shows ; or in the passion of the fight a furious gladiator might have to be restrained from consummating his victory after judgment had been given that the loser should be spared. A man might thus survive many

THE GLADIATORIAL BARRACKS

The Gladiatorial Barracks (p. 144) from the Triangular Forum. The Great Theatre is to the left. The lofty building in the centre is modern.

contests ; a memorandum scratched on a wall speaks of a chariot fighter, a British variety, who had fifty-one occasions to his credit. He lost, but as a splendid veteran was "let off" (*missus*). A slave with such a record would get his freedom and continue his profession on his own account. Otherwise gladiators were supplied in troupes from the great training centres ; there was one such at Capua, and Caesar and Nero both had set up establishments which bore their name. Some fought with beasts, or beasts were set to hunt each other. Felix fought bears ; one picture shows us a boar chased by hounds, another a bull transfixed with a spear ; a panther and a bull are tied together to fight till death them part. There are abundant notices of gladiators and their doings scribbled about the houses. For a three days' show Nigidius Maius, who owned the House of Pansa, supplied thirty pairs of gladiators, with substitutes in case of accident, so that the fun might not lag ; and a hunt as well. The prospect delighted the scribe. One house gives a detailed account of the names, equipment, and records of thirty of these warriors, with jocular notes that show successes of another sort : *puellarum decus*, "the glory of the girls" ; or *puparum dominus*, "a lord among the lassies." If Juvenal is to be believed, a gladiator was a very favourite beau with all ranks.

There can be no exaggeration in stating the popularity of such shows at Pompeii among all classes. To us moderns who draw the line at fox-hunting, bull-fights, and slaughtering wild beasts in their native

lairs, where they have every advantage, the whole thing remains strangely revolting. The taste for battle pictures in paint and prose is, we must presume, a purely aesthetic emotion; a death in the prize-ring is rare, and the more brutal forms of pugilism are kept within bounds by a law which still does not restrain their detailed description in newspapers. More than five hundred years have passed since, thirteen hundred years after the destruction of Pompeii, the chivalrous Scottish Court and nobility assembled to witness sixty Highlanders massacre each other. We live in a more humane age; so thought Cicero, too, when he wrote that nobody admired the giving of gladiatorial exhibitions, and that everybody was sick and tired of them. Perhaps some rare souls in Pompeii thought the same. But the days of Saint Augustine saw them still flourishing, and one incident which he relates in the *Confessions* throws an illuminating ray upon the psychology of such delights. His friend Alypius, a young Christian, had gone to Rome, where his high-spirited acquaintances had forced him into the Colosseum. But they could not force him to look, and he kept his eyes closed till one mighty shout made him involuntarily open them. He saw blood, his savage but suppressed emotions welled up, and he gazed on, "intoxicated by the bloody pastime" that once more claimed his soul.

Bulwer-Lytton, following Dion Cassius, a late and untrustworthy source, dramatically places the last day of Pompeii in the Amphitheatre. It is an improbable if effective staging. The games were disallowed till A.D. 69.

Before that date the city was in ruins from the earthquake, and ten years later still rebuilding. Public funds and private wealth were in full demand for other purposes. There can have been no means for expensive shows. And certain puzzling finds in the Barracks suggest that these were being used to house some of the homeless ones. Moreover, the Amphitheatre discloses none of the latest improvements, the elaborate stage-machinery under the arena found elsewhere. The probability is that, between official prohibition and natural misfortune, Pompeii had for twenty years been deprived of its shows, and, if it sought them, had to go elsewhere. They would not have to go far.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION : TEMPLES, AND TOMBS

I

THE author of *Eothen*, in his vividly subjective manner, writes how, when on the road to Cairo he struck his tent in the morning and cleared away his incongruous belongings, "like an owner who had waited and watched, the Genius of the desert stalked in." What is to us a mere figure of speech the ancient Italian would have interpreted literally in the terms of primitive *animism*, the belief in the spiritual or essential being of everything as abstracted from its material manifestation.[1] In this conception his religion was rooted. Every man had his *genius*, or spirit, or "double," whose female counterpart was the woman's *genius* or Juno ; so, too, Jupiter had his Juno, who bore to women the relation in their own special functions which the sky-god did to men. The house hearth had its spiritual essence in Vesta, and the Penates were the "spirits" of the storeroom. The spirits of the house and grounds were the two Lares, with whose worship was associated that of the Genius

[1] Thus Roman altars in Britain are dedicated *Genio Terrae Britannicae* : "to the genius of the land of Britain."

of the head of the family; the early house was also a temple and its head the family priest. The symbol of the Genius was the house-snake,[1] and the painted snakes in the house or on the street walls of Pompeii always personify the Genius of the person or the place, crested for a male, plain for a female. Hence the pair above the house shrine, so distinguished, stand for the master and mistress. The Lares are represented by two youths in high boots and short tunics, each holding in his right hand a drinking-horn from which a jet of wine flows into a small pitcher in his left. Their movement is that of the dance, and sometimes, too, the pipe-player is added, for music was an essential part of religious ritual. Between the two stands a figure with covered head, who is the master of the house and holds in his hand the *patera* or dish for offering, or a box of incense, or both. Very rarely is he accompanied by the Juno of the mistress. Below, the serpent or serpents approach the painted altar to partake of the things offered, usually eggs or pine-cones. The associated idea of the Penates accounts for the occasional representation of victuals as offerings—pieces of spitted flesh, sausages, fish, or birds. Some shrines become very elaborate, the zealous or importunate owner associating with his Lares and Genius figures of the greater gods, choosing them according to his preference, as a medieval religious would place himself under the special protection of

[1] It will be remembered that in the Aeneid the filial Aeneas was in doubt whether the snake that issued from the tomb of Anchises was the ministrant spirit of his father or the Genius of the place.

some particular saint or saints. All the gods, singly or in groups, are thus drawn upon at one place or another : Vesta was naturally peculiar to the bakers. Sometimes instead of painted figures we find statuettes, and there may be an independent altar in front.

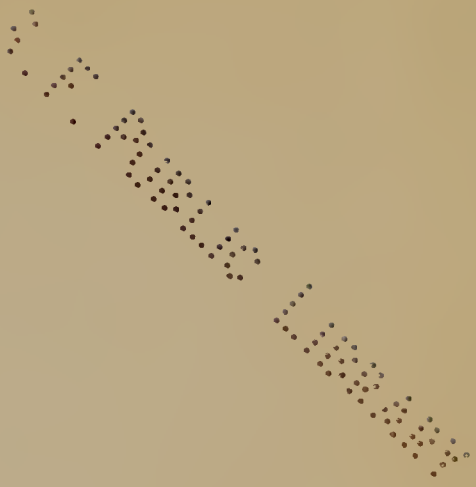
But just as of old each farm had its Lar as well as the house, and these were worshipped in common at the boundaries of the farms, so it came about that the streets of the town were equipped with the same divinities, having shrines like those of the houses, especially where streets met, under the tutelage of the "Lares of the Crossings" (*Lares Compitales*). There are even small chapels for devotions to the Lares and Genius of the quarter. Not all the street altars were so dedicated : there is one to Salus, the goddess of health. And the idea of religious reverence was used for other purposes, as we have already noted. A pair of serpents on the wall gave it a sacred character ; it was then no place for loiterers or defilement. Or various divinities might be substituted, and one proprietor covered his wall with figures of the twelve great deities, including Venus Pompeiana.

These major gods were, of course, those of the State, served by the community as a whole. They were in origin the great powers of nature with which the community came into special contact in conformity with its character ; but as the State was also a sort of family it, too, had its corresponding deities, its Vesta and its Lares. The divine figures of the early Italians are shadowy and elusive, and they emerged only to be

overlaid with Greek notions and forms. But by the time that the Roman state had taken its place in world politics the vague sky-god had been exalted as *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, "the greatest and best Jupiter" of his many manifestations, to a personification of the political unit. New developments and needs necessitated the recognition of new divinities, such as the agricultural cult of the old Latins could not of itself provide. Trading connections with the Greeks of the south introduced their merchant god Herakles or Hercules, who had to be adopted because there was no local equivalent. The rise of a class of craftsmen under Etruscan direction introduced the protecting presence of Minerva. A corn trade with Cumae brought up Demeter, the corn-goddess, who gave definiteness to the older Latin goddess Ceres, with whom she was associated as Ceres-Demeter. So, too, improvement in the cultivation of the vine as a result of the superior knowledge of the Greeks was followed by the welcoming of Dionysus, who took over the indigenous god of fertility, Liber, originally but an aspect of the general Jupiter, *Jupiter-Liber*, and Dionysus-Liber became familiar as Bacchus, "ever young." Apollo, god of healing, was another importation from Cumae, as a result of a visitation of the plague at Rome, and he naturally brought his sister Artemis, who, as goddess of the wild wood, found her affinity in the local Diana. Later, the materialised Greek divinities trooped in wholesale, and theology became a tangle. We need only note how Jupiter as standing for the

State on the male side, Juno on the female, and Minerva as the industrial deity, were grouped in the great trio of the capital, the centre of official ritual.

In religion, as in other departments, Pompeii, however, was the earlier captive of Greece, and the oldest temples are Greek either in character or attribution. It could not be otherwise when the Greek settlements were the gates of an attractive and enterprising civilisation. One temple only was almost purely Greek in conception, that in the Triangular Forum. The upper structure has entirely disappeared ; there remain merely the basement or *podium* in five great steps, approached in front by a central flight of eight—a local deviation from the strict Greek type—some stumps of Doric columns in tufa, and a few battered capitals. From these can be reconstructed in the mind's eye a Doric temple of the massive, imposing kind found in better condition on other southern sites. The columns extended round all four sides to enclose the central hall or *cella* in which the image of the divinity was housed ; they were sharply fluted and covered with stucco, which was also applied to the capitals, while salient features of ornament were emphasised in colour. So near did it come to the Greek glory of upstanding marble, as yet an exotic stone, this, the oldest edifice in Pompeii. It differed from all the other temples of the city inasmuch as these were Roman in type, and, in the shifting tastes of later times, this archaism may have been its destruction. The Roman temple was, in plan, Etruscan ; it was raised upon a lofty platform



THE TEMPLE OF FORTUNA AUGUSTA

Basement of the Temple of Fortune (p. 156), and lower end of the Street of Mercury. The triumphal arch is that called of Nero (p. 104). Beyond is the Forum and the tallest pillar in the Temple of Jupiter.

(*podium*), approached by steps and, normally, had only a portico of columns with, at most, half-columns engaged in the side walls of the cella and in the rear. It was intended to be enclosed within a walled space: the Greek temple stood free in some commanding position, as in the present case, where it must have been a conspicuous and brilliant feature from sea or land.

The existence of so noble a monument at so early a period would almost suggest a Greek foundation for Pompeii, at least a powerful Greek element at a very remote date. But, apart from the temple itself, there is no trace of such in either house or inscription. Quite as puzzling is the question as to the divinity or divinities worshipped here. Fragments were found, from the inner room of the cella, of a large deer in terra-cotta, companion of Artemis, and near by was the torso of a statue which has been claimed to be Apollo. There are three altars in front, so that these two deities with their mother Latona may have been served in the temple, and Cumae may have been the source of a Greek colony and of this worship. But if an inscription elsewhere has been properly interpreted, the temple was the "place of Minerva," that is, a sanctuary of the industrial goddess. With this we may take the fact that the city gates of Pompeii were placed under the protection of Minerva; in a niche at the Marine Gate was found her terra-cotta statuette, and her head appears on the inside of the keystone of the Gate of Nola. She certainly had her cult, as we might expect in such a town; and, though the temple was

what we see it at the eruption and for how long before we do not know, the ritual was prolonged in a little shrine built on the ruin.

Keeping to the track of Greece we turn to the tiny enclosed temple in the north-east corner of the block almost entirely occupied by the theatres. Passing through a vestibule, to the right of which was a room for the sacristan, and which was once marked at the inner end by two columns, we enter the small court. In front is a long altar of archaic type, the sides of which were stuccoed and decorated in the First Style. Immediately behind, a flight of nine steps, extending from side to side, leads up to the podium, but the prostyle of six columns, four in front and one on each side, has completely disappeared. So far everything looks ancient enough, till we notice that the walls of the cella are of quasi-reticulate work, and so not older than the Roman colony. Moreover, on a pedestal at the rear were found statues of Jupiter and Juno and a bust of Minerva, all of terra-cotta and inferior in execution. This fact will be cleared up presently; they were only guests, not indwellers. On the other hand three capitals of pilasters are of stuccoed tufa, executed in the best manner of the Oscan or Samnite period. The walls, too, show ancient work, so that it is easy to postulate a rebuilding in Roman times upon an older site, incorporating older materials. From an inscription we conclude that this was the temple of Zeus Milichius, "Zeus the benign," the guardian deity of the peasants, a cult once widely spread in Greece.

It is his face we see on a pilaster, grave and kindly, with curling beard and long hair falling in ringlets. But the building is Roman or Etruscan in style, not Greek : we recognise a borrowed god.

Ancient, not so much from the character of the building as from the peculiarity of its situation, is the temple that flanks the west side of the Forum. Its position is determined, not by architectural symmetry, but by orientation, the practice of a time before the regularity of the city plan became the dominating idea. To fall in with this, however, the side wall next the Forum has been taken slightly off the parallel so as to conform to the lie of the Forum itself. An entrance here is strange, but there is another in front from Marine Street which also has a peculiar feature, in that it is placed somewhat to the side so as to avoid opening upon a column instead of an open space, a provision which should have been made in the arrangement of the columns themselves. But several things go to indicate that we are dealing with a reconstruction upon an older site, the primitive characteristics of which had to be preserved. As it stands, the building is of the Tufa Period, comprising a great open area with a colonnade in two stages, and a cella at the upper end standing upon a lofty podium and approached by steps. So far and in respect of its deep portico in front the temple is of Roman-Etruscan plan, but in having the columns of the portico carried round the four sides so as completely to enclose the cella it is Greek, a variation perhaps due to its being the home of a Greek deity. The colonnade

too, shows the mingling of orders : Ionic columns and capitals supporting a Doric entablature are surmounted by a Corinthian set. The earthquake of 63 brought upon it another reconstruction which followed the prevailing taste ; the projections of the Ionic and Corinthian ornaments were chopped off, and capitals and shafts covered with stucco, which was fluted above but left bare below and painted yellow ; the capitals were then moulded into the new fantastic Corinthian and painted in red, yellow, and blue ; the entablature was similarly treated, the Doric features being submerged under the flat stucco face, which was adorned with griffins and garlands in glaring colours. At the same time the old decoration of the First Style was got rid of ; the walls under the colonnade were painted with a succession of scenes from the *Iliad*, some landscapes and genre pictures. The ancient temple had its beauties outside, which was the place of the congregation ; the cella was simply a chancel. Almost everything of this late stuff has disappeared or faded since the excavations. The cella, too, was coated outside and in with stucco designed in blocks to give the appearance of marble : one can still admire its handsome floor laid out in fine black and white mosaic, enclosing a centre portion of diamond-shaped pieces of white and green marble and slate composed in a regular block-like pattern, round which is a mosaic fret with a line of red marble and another of slate between. The restoration after A.D. 63 had been completed, and on the altar in front were found the ashes of the last sacrifice.

What divinity possessed so imposing a habitation? The evidence is complete for Apollo. An inscription on the slate stripe, in Oscan, speaks of something having been made here with money from the treasure of Apollo, and that the agent was a quaestor. We are thus back in the period of Oscan government, and what was made can be no other than the artistic floor. And Apollo has left marks that of themselves suffice. In the cella is the conical stone, the *omphalos*, associated with that god; on the right wall of the colonnade a tripod is painted as a thing apart from the general design. The *omphalos* is Delphic, where it represented the navel or centre of the earth; the tripod is that on which the Delphic priestess sat to give the oracles, chewing bay-leaves. The griffins on the colonnade frieze thus take special significance, as they, too, are associated with the bright god, recalling the Hyperboreans with whom he spent the winter, therefore a darker time. He is frequent, too, in shrines and on wall paintings, with an aureole as the sun-god, with the lyre as god of harmony, the crow as the "far-darter" or slayer of men and beasts, the python or earth-dwelling spirit of the dead which he has slain, for he is also the healer (*Apollo Medicus*), with the bay crown and the omphalos, for he is the giver of oracles. In all these aspects he was known to the Pompeians, and they all concentrate in the Apollo of Delphi, the divine director of Greek colonisation, whom colonists brought with them to the lands of his appointment. Thus, again, we are reminded of the close intimacy between Pompeii

and the Greek cities to the north of the Bay of Naples.

Apollo, however, had appropriate company, for other divinities were, in a minor way, also served here. Six statues round the court were either commemorative or filled the part of side chapels, as we see saints honoured in a church dedicated as a whole to some one in particular. First, Venus, or more probably Aphrodite, not the Pompeian Venus, with an altar, faced on the opposite side by a Hermaphrodite, in whom we may recognise, in conformity with many paintings, Dionysus-Bacchus: these of marble. Farther up Apollo himself and his sister Artemis, in bronze, each with the bow; Artemis having an altar, but Apollo already provided for in front of his proper shrine. Then hermes of Hermes-Mercury and his mother Maia, who had a special place in Pompeian and Roman devotions, for with them was associated the worship of Augustus as an incarnation of Mercury—"son of Maia," as Horace fondly addresses him. To this favour we shall return in another connection.

We are now done with the Greeks and, chronologically, approach the stately presence of *Venus Pompeiana Physica*; not the loosely draped, libidinous lady of popular acceptance, but the protecting deity of Sulla, who introduced her here, the special ancestress of the Julian line, the nature-power invoked by Lucretius—she who fills with life the fruitful land and the navigable sea. Aphrodite came oversea to lower her reputation; but in the Pompeian representations she is a dignified

matronly figure clothed in a violet mantle studded with golden stars ; on her head a diadem set with precious stones ; her right hand holding to the breast a sprig of olive or myrtle, her left embracing a long sceptre and leaning upon a rudder—suggesting the Britannia of our coins rather than the Aphrodite of our galleries. Beside her, on a pedestal, stands her little son, a mantle depending from his neck over the left shoulder and arm; his left hand holds a mirror or shield, his right rests on the rudder. Thus we have mother and son—the mother-goddess dear to Mediterranean lands. The irreverent student will note that modern Pompeii in her own miraculous Virgin, *La Vergine di Pompei*, has developed a curious coincidence with the old pagan city. Venus was distinctly the accepted embodiment or Genius of the community ; many bill-writers profess to direct the public in her name. But her fane cannot be exactly localised, though the encumbered site just inside the Marine Gate, where a temple has been, and a more noble edifice was in the beginnings of erection, has been claimed as hers. Nothing but the basement stands ; the rest is but building material in the rough.

There is little doubt regarding the occupancy of the distinctly Roman temple at the north end of the Forum, infusing with its sacred associations the business atmosphere around. The podium or basement, about ten feet high, is divided into two stages. The lower has a flight of steps at either end, and perhaps served as a tribunal or *rostra* from which public meetings might be addressed ; in its centre is the altar. The equestrian

statues on the extremities have disappeared ; they were thrown down by the earthquake and never replaced. Ten steps, the whole length of the front, lead from this to the Corinthian portico, under which Shelley, on his visit, ate his vegetarian lunch, while he admired the "magnificent spectacle" of land and sea. The cella was relatively large, and its coffered roof was supported on lines of columns in two stories, the lower being Ionic and fifteen feet high. The interior walls were painted in red slabs divided by imitation marble surfaces richly grained and framed in green ; below was a black dado divided by white lines into rectangles ; above similar architectural fancies in green, red, and brown, and a cornice. But the back wall was veneered with marble, and opened into three chambers. These were for the three Capitoline divinities—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The temple was entirely ruined when found, had indeed been turned into a stone-cutter's workshop for the repairs going on in the neighbourhood. Caecilius Jucundus, we remember, had witnessed its overthrow by the earthquake. There is a crypt in the basement lighted by openings under the portico, which may have been a municipal strong-room like the vault under the Temple of Saturn at Rome, where the young tribune opposed Julius Caesar when he tried to help himself to the public funds. The erection of this temple precedes the Roman colony to which one would naturally attribute it, but not long, and they may have completed it ; in any case Pompeii was even before then being slowly Romanised.

THE STREET OF TOMBS

Altar-tombs (p. 166) on the road outside the Herculaneum Gate. The nearer is that of Servitia to her husband, "her soul's friend."

Emperor Worship

The remaining temples lead us into new worlds of religious ideas. Even before the Empire the old religion of Rome had substantially gone to pieces. It was part of the policy of Augustus to restore it as far as possible in order to serve as a base for the imperial position. But the brains were out; recovery was merely a political form; religious emotions were taking other channels. Already the Oriental side of the Empire was making itself felt in the accordance of divine titles and honours to him who had become the great central figure of the State. It was a charming experience, but rather strong at first for the Roman taste. On the other hand, some symbol of personal loyalty was desirable, some sort of imperial national anthem, which should give form to the new relationship. It was found in the significance and ceremonial of the Lares. As the Genius of the father of the family was associated with their worship, and the State was a sort of family, then the Genius of Augustus, "the father of the country," had its proper place in the public Lares. Ministrations to these were maintained by clubs or "colleges" of slaves and freedmen with an elected head. Augustus reconstituted these "colleges" on new lines, which involved the placing of his own Genius between the two Lares. There is no example of his presence on the street shrines of Pompeii, but, with other emperors, he appears in those of the houses. Publicly it would seem he had even more formal honours. Below the Macellum is a large building which must have been of more than usual

magnificence. The bare walls of the open court are of the diamond-fronted *opus reticulatum*, and so of the very latest epoch, but, in completion, walls and pavement were covered with rich marbles. An altar stands in the middle. In the rear is an apse with a broad platform at the back having a central shrine with positions for three statues, and a projection in front. Not a hint or a figure remains to indicate the purpose of this building, but the strong probability is that we have here the Temple of the City Lares, and that the central statue in the shrine stood for the Genius of Augustus—was, in fact, the Emperor himself. Of the other statues in the several niches round the walls nothing definite can be said, but as the householder had often his special company of patron gods so too the city had here—Venus, perhaps, and Ceres and Mercury or Apollo, who was a favourite of Augustus. The Temple, like the less pretentious shrines of this class, may have come to be known simply as that of the *Lares Augusti*.

All this was pretty much on old familiar lines; but we can follow another path of advance toward the deification of emperors. There was at Pompeii a college of "Servants of Mercury and Maia," the term "servants" (*ministri*) again signifying a servile order of priesthood. We have remarked upon the presence of these two deities in the Temple of Apollo. It became the fashion to regard Augustus as a manifestation of Mercury, "son of Maia" as Horace saluted him, and with these two he was associated in worship. The same development took place as in the matter of the Lares;

the *ministri* of Augustus Mercury and Maia became by 2 B.C. the "ministri of Augustus," now the overshadowing divinity. By this time, too, any qualms there may have been about paying divine honours to a man—and they clearly did not amount to much in the partly orientalised cities of the South—had passed away, and the priesthood of Augustus became one of the honourable offices of the town; it was filled by a leading citizen like Holconius Rufus as *sacerdos Augusti*.

Indeed, the convention once begun could not but grow. Augustus was a pre-eminent figure, more than human in accomplishment, power, and beneficence. He had given the civilised world peace, revivified industry and trade, and so in himself symbolised the very things which were the real bonds of empire and, above all, were what it meant, at best, to the provinces. Court poets like Horace and Virgil drove home these associations in language of sacred eulogy. Augustus, then, was worthy of the highest conceivable human honours, and, as the line between gods and men was not drawn with metaphysical sharpness, there was little difficulty in giving these their loftiest flight, and placing him among the gods. No god could do more; no mere man could have done so much. The eastern peoples, particularly Egypt, accustomed to regard their sovereigns as deities, gave sharpness to this conviction; and so arose everywhere colleges of *Augustales*, whose place of ceremonial we may further recognise in the Macellum of Pompeii, the market-place where the divinity of the controlling Emperor was particularly significant. The

idea did not die with paganism or Rome ; like so much else it was simply carried over. When the Christian Tertullian in the second century speaks of the Emperor as inferior to God only, he is using language to which Horace simply gave a different setting. Bossuet in the seventeenth century, a bishop, develops sentiments in this regard which but elaborate the propositions of the younger Pliny ; "princes are gods," he concludes, "and, in some fashion, share in the divine uniqueness." Perhaps we come closer in idea to the Roman precedent by comparing the fourteenth-century adoration of Earl Thomas of Lancaster as a saint, for which a special form of service was compiled, or other canonisations of historic personages.

One further variation is illustrated here. Going north from the Forum towards Mercury Street we reach a small but once handsome temple, which, with its site, was the gift of a private citizen, Marcus Tullius, and was dedicated to *Fortuna Augusta*. In many respects, in general appearance, and in the double lines of steps up to the podium, with the altar on the lower stage, it is a replica of the Temple of Jupiter ; as also in its deep portico of eight Corinthian columns. The cella was veneered with marble, and in its rear, no doubt, had a statue representing Fortune in her relation to Augustus and the imperial family. The cult of Fortune, in an unofficial, literary way, took strong hold of the medieval mind ; certain reflective moods find consolation in a religion of caprice. This temple was served by the *ministri Fortunae Augustae*, four slaves

and four freedmen, about whom we have several inscriptions. Other associations of this type had members or superiors of a higher class, as we see in the case of Holconius.

This religious development is completed by a reference to the last of the Forum temples, that following the sanctuary of the Lares on the east side. It is a small structure on a podium approached by steps on either side at the back, and was never completed, though the walls of the cella had been covered with thin marble slabs, afterwards removed. There were four columns in front supporting a triangular pediment. The temple, however, had gone so far as to be fit for use, as we find the dedicatory ceremonial represented on the front of the marble-faced altar in the court. The central figure is a bull being led to sacrifice, among a group of celebrants, in front of our temple, whose columns are hung with garlands and drapery. On the panel at the back of the altar is an oak wreath between branches of laurel. These were imperial symbols, originally voted by the Senate to Augustus, on whose coins they appear. The crown of oak leaves persisted, but the laurel reappears for the first time on the coins of Vespasian and Titus. Take this with the fact that a bull was the appropriate sacrifice to a living emperor, and the inference is that here was an erection by the profusely loyal Pompeians to the homely Vespasian, an emperor who did service to the State similar to that done by Augustus. The restoration of order is always an advantage to a commercial city. Vespasian died in

the year in which Pompeii perished, so that Titus is out of the reckoning.

Finally, we arrive at what, in one sense, is the most interesting of all the cults of Pompeii, certainly the most picturesque and most like religion as we now conceive it—the worship of the Egyptian Isis. The ancient official gods were distant and awesome; the myths humanised them to their undoing. Their services were but a ritual gone through at fixed seasons, on rigid lines, in terms of an assumed contract; thus emotional significance was slight. Hence the instantaneous appeal of eastern cults, and in particular that of Isis with its mysticism, its doctrine of the new life and a life hereafter, its initiatory rites, its holy water, penance, asceticism, and daily services. Its priests and priestesses were no mere officials like those of Roman religious ceremonial, but wholly set apart to the practices of the cult, practising and inculcating meditation and abstinence from creature comforts. In its emotional stirrings and voluptuous asceticism it made a strong appeal to women: the mistresses of the poets, Tibullus, Ovid, and Propertius, were all devotees of Isis. In the levelling character of its initiations it recommended itself to the lower classes, to which belong all those whose names we can associate with the cult at Pompeii.

Isis as the mother goddess had affinities with Venus, and a statue of that personage was found in the court of the temple; it had been placed there by a freedman under permission from the city council. The husband

and brother of Isis was Osiris, the sun-god, and it was on his personality and functions that the cult mainly reposed. Slain by his twin-brother Set, "darkness," he was raised from the dead and became the ruler of the other world. At the same time he is reincarnated in the person of his son Horus, of whom the Greeks made Harpocrates, who is thus also Osiris the father. But so, too, may every man be, for man is an incarnation of deity, as Osiris was a god-man, and by initiation through the mysteries representing the death and resurrection of Osiris, and by observance of his lofty teaching, may win to everlasting life. Osiris was the god who "made men and women to be born again," and in his humanity came close to their sympathies and feelings and to the needs of everyday life, as well as settling their fate beyond the grave. His analogue was found in the other god-man, Dionysus-Bacchus, the Genius of growth and fertility, especially of the vine which dies in its season and fructifies again. Thus in the rear wall of this temple stood a painted statue of Bacchus; on each side were ears in stucco relief: the god was a hearer of prayers. In a niche on the wall fronting the temple was painted the figure of the boy Harpocrates, holding a horn of abundance, and with his finger on his lips—the Egyptian mark of childhood. In front of him stands a priest holding a candlestick with a lighted candle in each hand; a pair of bronze candlesticks in a box was among the finds in the cella.

The court with its colonnade of brick pillars coated with channelled stucco and painted red below, with its

pedestals for basins of the holy Nile water, its statues and busts, among the latter that of the actor Sorex, and its many altars, has a crowded appearance. The wall was in brilliant colours : a yellow base, a black frieze with garlands of yellow, red, and blue, and figures of various types, the intermediary space distributed in large red panels divided by a fantastic architecture on a yellow ground above inserted pictures of galleys and sea-life ; for Isis was the patroness of seamen. In the large panels were figures of her priests. All the decoration here and elsewhere about has an Egyptian cast, creating the appropriate atmosphere.

The cella oddly opens on its long side above a projecting flight of steps, and further extends its front in wings having niches for statues ; this temple had to dissent even in its architecture. The shrine was empty, but the marble head and the bronze hands and feet of a statue were found not far away ; the body being of wood had dissolved. One hand held the *sistrum*, the musical rattle shaped like a tennis-racket with three or four metal rods crossing the frame, which was associated with the worship of the goddess. The second pedestal in the shrine was probably for Osiris. In front and to the left of the cella is an unroofed building with a gabled end bearing Egyptian decorative designs, and on the architrave a picture of the adoration of the holy water ; on the sides are stucco reliefs of Venus and Mars, Perseus and Andromeda. A stair leads down to a cellar, which was built up into a tank in one corner to serve as a cistern for the sacred element from the

SEMICIRCULAR BENCH TOMB

See p. 165.

Nile; this building is known as the Purgatorium. Between it and the cella was the high altar on which were still visible the charred bones and debris of sacrifice. Other sacrificial refuse, carbonised fruits and nuts, turned up in the rectangular pits near.

Behind the cella is a large hall entered by five arcaded openings, in one of which were found the fittings of the statue of Isis described above. It was richly decorated in the last style with paintings of the story of Io, who, too, was blended with Isis, since in Egypt she bore a child to Zeus. Vessels of glass and terra-cotta and small bones indicate the place of the sacred meals of the devotees, after a period of fasting and prayer. Here, too, the Isis-Osiris myth would be exhibited in pantomime, a form of miracle-play. The adjoining hall contained many portions of statuettes, Egyptian objects, vessels of various kinds, and a bronze knife. It was evidently a secluded place; and off it there was another apartment in which lay, among other things, fifty-eight earthen lamps. Here then was the place of midnight initiation, of the sacred freemasonry of Isis, where the initiate, like Apuleius, "saw the sun at midnight," went down to the dead, and rose again in a new birth and the hope of eternal happiness after death. A suite of rooms along one side gave residence to the priests, who lived a celibate life in constant communion with their deity and practice of her daily services. A picture from Herculaneum shows us the mid-day service, where the linen-clad priest with the shaven head holds up the vase of holy water to the adoration of the worshippers

agitating the sistrum, and the heaped offerings are being fanned into flame on the altar. The cella behind the priest is of quite Egyptian character, not, as in Pompeii, adapted and bizarre Roman. The presumption is that the Pompeii devotees were not only Egyptians but also native converts and mainly of the lower section of society. So much is further indicated by the inscription, which informs us that this whole structure was rebuilt from the foundations, after the earthquake, by Numerius Popidius Celsinus, whose father, again, presented the statue of Bacchus. Now Numerius was only six years of age, yet in virtue of this munificence he was co-opted into the body of the city council, the *decurions*. The explanation is that the father, who provided the money in his son's name, was a freedman, and so ineligible for such an honour, which, however, he could secure for his son. We see, too, that the temple belonged to the municipality and that its foundation was very much older. Probably it went back to the beginning of the first century B.C.; somewhat earlier we hear of the Temple of Isis at Puteoli (Pozzuoli), a port which was in regular communication with Egypt, and the door of Italy for the new cult. At Pompeii it was in enjoyment of official recognition apparently from its settlement, but at Rome the Isis worshippers had a long struggle against intermittent persecution and suppression; not till the time of Nero, at least, was it left to flourish in peace.

The tragedy of the priests of Isis unrolls before our eyes. Their first impulse was to carry to safety the

Brogi, Photo.

THE ARCHAIC ARTEMIS

See p. 97.

treasures of the goddess. Some perished on the stairway behind their dwelling-place. One had staggered and crunched along under the battering hail till he reached the corner of Abundance Street, where he fell; and around him lay over four hundred coins in gold, silver, and bronze—the collections from the temple treasury—with Isaic statuettes, silver bowls and cups, vessels of copper and bronze, and some articles of jewellery. Others took the way by the Triangular Forum just behind and were crushed by falling columns; from them the spoil was nearly two hundred coins, silver vases, a silver plate graven with images of Isis and Bacchus, and a silver sistrum bearing decorations appropriate to their rites. Martyred thus they passed to the judgment of Osiris and the final mystery of disillusionment.

II

From the temple to the tomb is but a step. The burial-places of Pompeii, as of other Italian cities, occupied the belt of land, the *pomoerium*, left vacant round the city, but, where wealthy or honoured personages were concerned, the sides of the highroads leading away from the gates. In the werewolf story of Petronius the soldier undergoes his transformation just after leaving the city when they had come among the tombs. With the Romans direct burial and cremation had existed together at a very early time, but the oldest tombs so far uncovered at Pompeii are of the former class, and contain painted vases of Greek type that probably came

from a known factory in the neighbourhood ; they are of the third and second centuries B.C., and so are furniture of Oscan interments in built-up stone coffins. No inscription or commemorative mark tells anything more. These are well outside the Herculaneum Gate, where the way downwards passes between rows of solid and imposing monuments, that start at the city wall and have been uncovered farther than on any other route, though not completely. But every great highway seems to have had its avenue of tombs, and much interest at present attaches to those which are being exposed outside the Vesuvius Gate. Along the city wall at the Gate of Nola burials of the poorest class have been found, and others beyond the Amphitheatre by a side road. In these we have examples of the simplest disposal. The ashes of the burnt body were enclosed in an urn, and, accompanied by terra-cotta or, rarely, glass vials of perfume, deposited in the earth and marked by a narrow slab (*cippus*), which terminated in a rounded top shaped so as to suggest a head in outline ; on this was painted or cut a dedication to the Genius of a man or the Juno of a woman, the latter distinguished in addition by the representation of two long locks of plaited hair. The urns were connected with the surface by means of a channel made with tiles, the mouth of which was covered with a stone under a layer of earth. The position was marked by the *cippus*, and in this way the relatives of the deceased were able at memorial meetings to pour their libations of wine and oil directly upon the urn.

The Tombs

More important monuments were of various forms, depending as they did upon many considerations. Earliest, apparently, are those by the road leading from Nocera Gate ; a road which in the old days was a busy route, when Pompeii and Nocera (*Nuceria*) were in intimate connection, but latterly had fallen largely into disuse, when all good Pompeians looked northward to Rome, and the Herculaneum Road became the Westminster Abbey of the city. The tombs here are of very ordinary materials, with stucco on the outside instead of marble. They alone give the memorial arch form, in which the urn was buried beneath the passage. Outside the Stabian Gate comes a series of a favourite character, a semicircular bench of masonry backed by a small enclosure in which the urns were buried and marked by *cippi*. Among them is the tomb of Marcus Tullius, builder of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta. Of the several similar in type on the Herculaneum Road, one was conspicuously dedicated to Mamia, a "public priestess," the only office of dignity open to women. Here the urn was buried beneath the bench. Both these tombs were on sites granted by the city council, an honourable recognition of public service which always receives notice. These seats were for the gatherings in memory of the dead ; in one case a commemorative meal is emphasised by the construction of a triclinium of couches and tables of stone within a painted enclosure, whose only guests are now the overlooking bay trees. Or the special feature might point to the sacred associations of the dead rather than their

connection with the living, whence the tomb with an altar as the central characteristic. In one class it is placed within an apse-like niche with a seat around; the urn was deposited under the altar. Of such is the monument just outside the Herculaneum Gate, which was at once popularised as a sentry-box for a mythical soldier faithful in duty to the end. This romance has turned out of doors the real occupant, the ashes of Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, a member of the brotherhood or college of Augustals, who, moreover, had been granted this place of burial by a vote of the council. A striking development of the altar-tomb was that which reared a huge altar on a vaulted basement within which were niches and pedestals for the reception of the urns; an arrangement of this sort was known as a *columbarium* from its resemblance to a dovecot. Such a tomb was the resting-place of the frequently mentioned Umbricius Scaurus, who is exceptional in that he was honoured not only with the gift of the site, but also with a contribution towards the funeral expenses and an equestrian statue in the Forum. Another notable example was that erected by Naevolia Tyche for her husband and herself, and also for their freedmen and freedwomen, a common association in Roman tombs. One panel of the altar shows the *bisellium*, or magistral chair, decreed to her husband; another a ship putting into port, a reversal of "crossing the bar," but an always appealing metaphor of death, as when Cicero in his *Old Age* speaks of entering the harbour after the long voyage. In Petronius's novel Trimalchio at the

THE BLUE GLASS VASE

The pedestal and support are modern.—See p. 167.

Brogi, Photo.

maudlin stage of the banquet gives directions about his funeral, and desires for his tomb a representation of vessels "voyaging with full sails," a specimen of his malaprop utterances. Three glass urns in the *columbarium* were sealed, and encased in others of lead; among the ashes and burnt bones still soaked the liquid of the funeral libations—water, wine, and oil. Many lamps, too, were in place, showing how such interiors were used for memorial occasions. Finally, there is the temple-tomb modelled with pilasters or engaged columns; the Garland Tomb has its pilasters connected by festoons, whence the name; but here there is no chamber for the urns.

For most the funerary urns are of simple terra-cotta, but there is one remarkable exception in glass which for beauty and delicacy of workmanship rivals the famous Portland Vase of the British Museum. It was one of two glass urns in an unknown altar-tomb. The body of the vase is a dark blue, but is covered up to the neck—which, as the shape is that of an amphora, has a handle—with designs in relief of pure white. Round the bottom sheep and goats are at pasture; above rise drooping, heavily laden vines where boys are gathering the ripe bunches and bearing them to the vat in which another is treading out the juice. One companion on a high seat plays the double pipe, while his opposite sits with a Pan's pipe in his hand. Other insertions carry out the suggestion of Bacchic labours and delights. Such a piece of work must have done service for a rich man able to command the best that an artist could do.

His glass survives the blows of Time ; his name has been poured out with his ashes.

But the placing of valuable articles in tombs, and their external adornment with rich marbles, has always attracted the cupidity of reckless ransackers. It was the case at Rome, where the emperors strove to check the practice by most strict laws ; and there is clear evidence of the same sacrilegious interference and destruction at Pompeii—thieves claiming a privilege which belongs only to archaeologists and relic-hunters.

THE CITY COVERED AND UNCOVERED

Looking north. Vesuvius is to the right.

CHAPTER VIII

DESTRUCTION AND RESURRECTION

Pompeii had had many warnings. Built on the hardest of rocks the city was as insecure as if its foundations had been sand. The earthquake of A.D. 63 shook it almost to pieces, and weaker shocks had become so common as to be past notice. But if people in a volcanic district took such things too seriously, who would stay? Home, its associations, and its accustomed life, are a triple cord that no fear of death even can break. Not so many years ago villages near emptied themselves in the terror of an eruption, speedily to fill up again when the spasm was over and the lava and ashes had come to a stop. And all that prevented the resuscitation of choked Pompeii was the utter impossibility of the task.

It is fortunate that, when the cataclysm came, History had its special correspondent on the spot in the person of the younger Pliny, whose uncle, in residence with him and his mother at Misenum, was in command of the Roman fleet at that station. From his pen, in letters to the historian Tacitus, come all the familiar particulars: the huge cloud that appeared above

Pompeii

Vesuvius on the afternoon of August 24, A.D. 79, in shape like an umbrella pine—a tall stem with a bunched, spreading head; the attempt of old Pliny to reach the shore and bring off fugitives in his warships from that populous coast, he dictating scientific notes the while; the cumbering of the decks and the piling up of the beach with showers of hot pumice-stones, and the sudden and strange shallowing of the water as the sea huddled into its sinking bed; the visit to Stabiae where Pomponianus, with all his valuables on board, was waiting till the north-west wind changed; supper and bed for the undisturbed old Stoic amid the terrified household; the hurried flight in the early morning, lighted by torches, from strewn courts and staggering walls, each one having a pillow tied on the head for protection against that solid hail; and the swift and peaceful passing away of the obese and asthmatic old admiral by the seaside at the first whiff of the sulphurous fumes that now came down the wind.

It was the increasing severity of the tremblings of the night that brought out the family at Misenum in the murky dawn. The narrow ways were crowded, buildings shaking as if every moment they would fall; carriages rocked until they threatened to overturn; the withdrawing sea left fish dry upon the sand; while from behind rolled down a horrible black cloud, streaked with leaping and curling flames. Capri disappeared in its folds, then the Cape of Misenum; plumped on the flying townsfolk the clattering cinders to be followed by a darkness of ash, out of which came the cries of

parents and relatives and hysteric shoutings; while Pliny and his friends, in the open, rested in resignation, only rising from time to time to shake themselves free of the clinging downpour. The sun had not set when the air cleared again, sun and earth alike blanched and strange; and Pliny returned to Misenum to pass another unquiet night and wait for news of his uncle.

All these details may properly be transferred to Pompeii, with stronger emphasis of terror, of distracted and tumultuous flight, and a death-roll probably heavier on the plain than in the city itself. There indeed comparatively few skeletons have been found; if the proportion is maintained for the uncovered portion not more than two thousand out of twenty to twenty-five thousand of a population perished within the walls. The fate of the family of Diomede and of the servants of Isis has been spoken of in their place. Others, too, stifled in cellars, but most in the streets; having waited, it would seem, till the pumice-stone lapilli ceased to pelt, and then ventured on flight through the blinding and stupefying ash. The central region (VII.) has provided a large share of the victims—seven in one house. Fallen, the moist dust wrapped them closely round and stiffened into a mould before decay began; thus by clearing out the hollow and pouring in plaster a perfect cast can be taken. These effigies in the local museums tell their own tale of peaceful death or last convulsive struggles: one, a man, with his head resting on his left arm as if asleep, another, a young girl, lying flat as she had fallen, her hands above her head

supporting some protective covering, her skirt kilted to her waist leaving her free to run ; here a negro, there a trousered Egyptian ; from one street a mother and daughter, a careful housewife with the house keys and a pair of silver vases—near them a soldier ; in a room of the Barracks a heap of skeletons, one of a woman sumptuously decked with jewellery, who in weariness and incertitude must have turned aside for shelter and company ; not to be forgotten the house-dog, who had climbed up the length of his chain to gasp out his life in contortions of agony. At the port on the Sarno many skeletons beside their little bundles of valuables ; wind and sea had shut that door fast. And all round the town, more or less, a graveyard whose dead can never be numbered.

Of what followed thereafter and of the intermediate period of forgetfulness we have spoken in the first chapter ; only the plough of the peasant striking some buried masonry or turning up some curio kept alive a vague memory of *La Citta*, "the city." Not till 1748 did accident direct the attention of excavators at Herculaneum to easier digging on what was concluded to be the site of ancient Stabiae. These men were after objects of ancient art for the royal collection at Portici. They started at the north end of Nola Street, then struck across to the Street of Tombs, thence diagonally to the Amphitheatre. Among their prizes were the paintings of dancers from the "Villa of Cicero," which made a stir in artistic circles. Nothing of great account being subsequently forthcoming, the diggings were

abandoned in 1750, to be resumed four years later in the neighbourhood of the Amphitheatre, where the treasures of the House of Julia Felix were a rich reward. From that date, with short intermissions, the work has never ceased ; but these early excavators were mere collectors, not archaeologists, and filled in the rubbish again when a place had once been ransacked. The foundation of the Herculaneum Academy in 1755 did much for the preservation of records, and in 1763 an inscription, *respublica Pompeianorum*, at length restored the old city to its own. The closing years of the century saw a more methodical clearance of the quarters round the Great Theatre and the Gate of Herculaneum. A more scientific interest was making its influence felt.

The French occupation of Naples brought a short relaxing of effort ; but the reigns of the Napoleonic kings, Joseph Bonaparte and Murat, gave the work a great impetus. An official report urged the purchase of the whole site, a more systematic mode of excavation, and a better disposal of the material. They were now working inwards from the Herculaneum Gate. The return of the Bourbons to the throne of Naples, after 1815, led to a large reduction of the annual fund devoted to the digging, and the selling back of much of the land. Still the business went on pretty continuously in and round the Forum quarter, and many noteworthy houses were laid bare. It was at this stage (1832) that Sir Walter Scott made his visit, to be carried through the dust-heaped streets of what he called " the city of the dead."

Pompeii

But Pompeii, as we see it, really begins with the supervision of Signor Fiorelli, after Naples in 1860 had been made part of the new kingdom of Italy. A true archaeologist, to him the city of itself made the primary appeal. All earlier work was first gone over and almost fully cleared. Streets were treated as of equal importance with objects of art, and their obstructive hillocks removed; houses were cleaned out as well as explored; bit by bit the continuous plan of the quarters was brought to light; buildings were carefully disencumbered and preserved; while all valuable finds and pictures were transferred to the museum at Naples, until that extraordinary collection overflows its space. To Fiorelli is due the method of making casts from the hollows; and for the magnificent work he did and the example he set, his bust stands in the Forum, where those honoured of Pompeii were wont to be placed. Later times, however, have seen a modification of his methods, in the restoration of certain houses and the retention and protection of their decorations and art; of which the House of the Vettii and that of the Golden Cupids are such brilliant examples. In this way, and others on similar lines, the immediate interest and human fascination of the old town have been increased manifold. Day by day the diggers fill up the little round baskets, the very model of those used by the ancient Pompeians themselves, which the boys tilt into iron waggons, when the stuff is run out by hand on rails till it reaches the dumping ground on the outskirts. It is a slow process, but careful and sure; as the bottom

is reached the sifting and removal becomes more deliberate, for it is there the loose objects are found; while walls have to be propped, and casts made, and a close inspection maintained. The end of the twentieth century will hardly see the city wholly cleared. To speculate on what is to come is vanity, as erroneous assertions have already shown.

. . . . . .

All day Pompeii stands stiffly up to be stared at by the curious and the discerning. The sight of the empty streets, the waste places, the lopped and dilapidated walls, on a first acquaintance, may be depressing, but familiarity soon touches the responsive chords of human associations. Slowly dawns upon one the day-dream of the city's prime of dainty beauty, of its sparkling life, of its pathetic trusts and joys; and still so much lies under as many feet of dust as it is remote in centuries of time. But when the equal night descends to obliterate temporal contrasts, the broken outlines fill up, the streets are hushed not silent, and the city seems less dead than asleep. Or if the moon unveils the scene, her cold volcanoes and barren lights shine with an even closer sympathy upon a spot of earth that bears something of her own pallid abandonment and ever ageing death.

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THE END

Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh.*